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Escaping slavery in a Caribbean plantation society : marronage in Barbados, 1650s-1830s

Disputes the idea that Barbados was too small for slaves to run away. Author describes how slaves in Barbados escaped the plantations despite the constraints of a relatively numerous white population, an organized militia, repressive laws, and deforestation. Concludes that slave flight was an enduring element of Barbadian slave society from the 17th c. to emancipation.

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ESCAPING SLAVERY IN A CARIBBEAN PLANTATION SOCIETY: MARRONAGE IN BARBADOS, 1650s-1830s¹

SLAVE FLIGHT: AN OVERVIEW

The island of Barbados was England's first American colony to develop plantation sugar production dependent on African slave labor. By the 1670s, Barbados' population of African birth or descent was almost double the combined total in England's five other Caribbean colonies and close to six times the total in all of England's mainland colonies (Handler & Pohlmann 1984:391; Rickford & Handler 1994:225, 230, 238). From the last half of the 1600s through the early 1700s, Barbados was the wealthiest and most populous colony in English America and played a major role in the South Atlantic system that linked Africa with Europe and the Americas (e.g., Dunn 1969; Eltis 1995). The island's importance in the British sugar empire decreased by the early eighteenth century, but until emancipation in 1834-38 Barbados remained a plantation-slave colony, politically and economically dominated by a small white plantocracy (a high percentage of which was resident and native-born) and with a slave population that vastly outnumbered free persons (Handler 1974:18-19).

Slave resistance in Barbados, as elsewhere in the New World, assumed a variety of forms from work stoppages and feigning illness to revolt plots, temporary unauthorized absences, and permanent escapes. Slave flight or marronage, although not always with the intent or hope of permanently escaping the slave system, was a characteristic feature of Barbadian slave society as it was of slave societies throughout the Americas (e.g., Price 1979; Morgan & Nicholls 1998). However, for much of the slave period, Barbados, a small (166 square miles), relatively flat, and densely popu-

lated island, presented obstacles of concealment and escapee community formation that were absent or not encountered in the larger mainland or island territories with mountains and heavy forests, small white populations, and light population densities. Nonetheless, marronage in one form or another occurred throughout the period of slavery in Barbados, and the island provides an excellent case study for exploring this form of resistance among the Caribbean's smaller sugar islands, ones that scholars do not conventionally associate with marronage (cf. Gaspar 1979a). Since Barbados' manumission rates were so low (Handler 1974:48-50; Handler & Pohlmann 1984), marronage was probably the major way that slaves escaped the slave system even though their numbers must have been very small compared to the size of the general slave population. In any case, governmental authorities and slaveowners considered slave flight a serious offense, and it was of continuous concern to them throughout the slave period.

Maroons in Barbados, as throughout the New World, directly challenged the authority system not only by the mere act of unauthorized absence from their masters, but also by reducing the master's work force, depriving him of their labor, and, in effect, denying him control over his own property. They sometimes fled the island completely and could directly or indirectly incite or encourage other slaves to leave their masters. Particularly in the seventeenth century, but also in later years, they were not easy to locate, and often engaged in direct action against white persons and their properties, living off the land and stealing food. For slaveowners, the existence of Maroons was a disruption in the social order, as their presence might have been an inspiration for the wider slave population.

Evidence for slave master concern over Maroons or "runaways" (the conventional term used in the primary sources of Anglo-America) and the unauthorized movement of slaves from their properties occurs early in Barbadian history. This concern is well reflected in laws enacted during a period when most slaves were African-born. Prior to 1655 at least eleven laws, possibly a few more, dealt entirely or partially with marronage. Some of these laws are known only by published title, the original texts having disappeared in archival repositories. Other early laws with texts, as well as those enacted later in the seventeenth century, plainly show the plantocracy's major concern with marronage: all laws dealing with runaways detail and refine in one form or another the mechanisms for their arrest, confinement, return to owners, and punishment.²

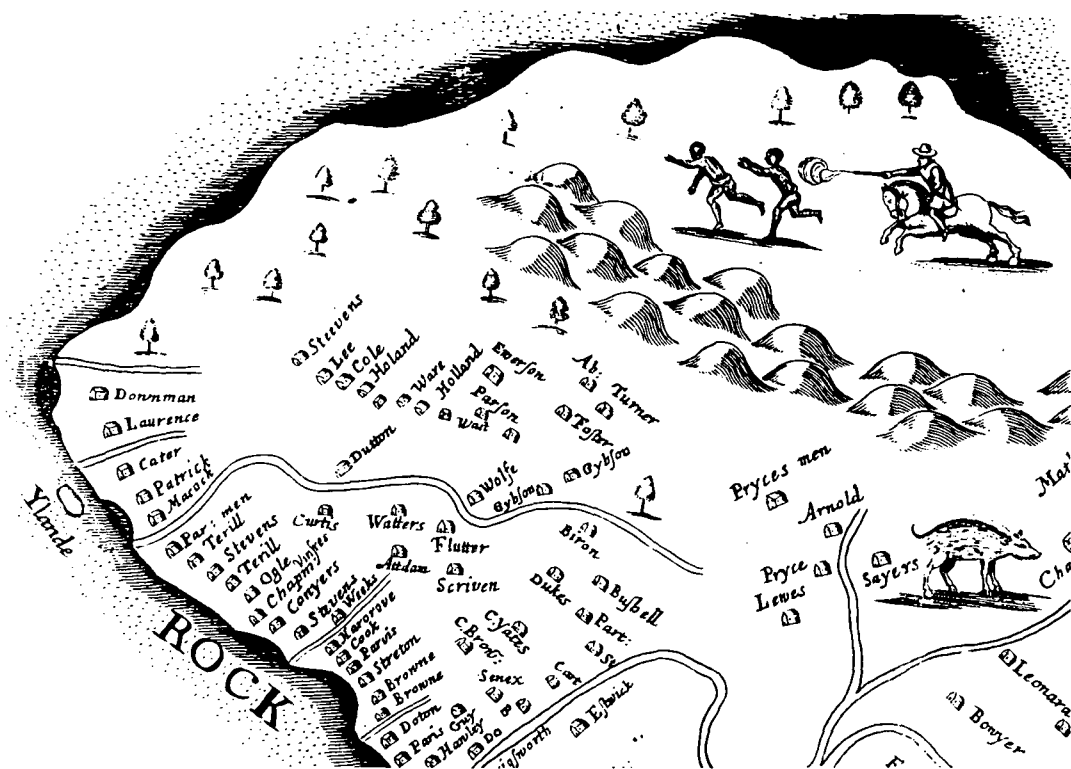
To facilitate the identification of possible Maroons, as well as to exert greater control over slave "wandering," slaves away from their masters'

properties were required to carry a written authorization, signed by the master or his agent, permitting the slave to be temporarily absent and attesting that he was on his master's "necessary" or "lawful business." The legal requirement of an authorizing document (which also applied to white indentured servants in the earlier periods³) was first enacted in 1652, possibly somewhat earlier (Jennings 1654:20-21, 81-83). It was modified and elaborated in greater detail in a major 1661 law. The fact that 16 or 17 of this law's 23 clauses directly or indirectly related to Maroons reflects the legislature's concern with their increased numbers and the security problems they caused. The 1661 provisions concerning a "ticket" were slightly modified in 1676; although both laws were later repealed, their principal features were incorporated into the comprehensive slave act of August 1688 which added some refinements.⁴

The 1688 requirements endured until 1826 when all existing slave laws were repealed and a new slave code was adopted, the "slave consolidation act"—the most comprehensive slave law in Barbados' history.⁵ This new code, despite its elaborate detail, did not require "tickets." This omission perhaps reflects how easily the provision was violated and "tickets" forged as slave literacy increased in the early nineteenth century (Handler 1974:172-89). For the first time this law made "forgery" a capital offense for slaves, punishable by death, as was murder, rape, and conspiracy to revolt. Although carrying written authorization was a fundamental feature of the social control system employed by whites for well over a hundred years, it is unknown to what extent it was enforced and how effectively it helped to inhibit slaves from unauthorized absences.

Slave flight assumed several forms. In the earliest phases of the period of plantation slavery, when the island was still heavily wooded, marronage involved small bands living in the forested interior and raiding plantations and farms for foodstuffs. Nothing can be said about how these bands were initially formed, and presumably most slaves fled from their masters singly or in pairs to join these bands. Other slaves may have hid out in the forests alone, or fluctuated between being alone and membership in a band. During the early periods, other slaves sometimes attempted, and occasionally succeeded, escaping Barbados completely. As the years progressed, slaves continued their efforts to escape the island while others, individually or in small groups of perhaps no more than two or three, sought permanent refuge in natural hiding places in the countryside. Still others hoped for escape by achieving anonymity in the towns, sometimes successfully passing as freedmen (cf. Handler 1974:5-6) for extended periods. Regardless of the form that slave flight assumed, J. Harry Bennett's (1958:26) comments on the Codrington plantations in the eighteenth

afbeelding



Section of map in Richard Ligon's *A True and Exact History of the Iland of Barbados* (1657), showing a European on horseback chasing two maroons, as well as coastal (leeward) plantations (published with permission, Special Collections Department, University of Virginia Library).

century can be readily generalized to the island's plantations as a whole: "Year in and year out," he wrote, "the most serious disciplinary problem ... was desertion."

MARRONAGE: THE EARLY YEARS

Despite the difficulties in establishing the motivations and specific reasons for flight, during the the earliest years of slavery in the seventeenth century, Maroons, most of whom were probably African-born (as in other New World areas, e.g., Price 1979; Morgan & Nicholls 1998), aspired to permanent escape and formed or joined small bands in Barbados' forested interior. These slaves had the goal "to run for freedom" and attempted "to live another life outside of the social order of the plantation" (Manigat 1977:423). Scholars do not conventionally associate this kind of marronage with as small and non-mountainous an area as Barbados, and the island's geography could not generally and effectively provide the stable, "almost inaccessible" and "inhospitable, out-of-the-way areas" required for developing viable Maroon communities that could exist more or less independently of plantations (Price 1979:5). However, in its early years, Barbados contained many places of refuge for groups of escapees and marronage did occur.

At its colonization by the English (who brought with them a handful of captured Africans) in 1627, Barbados was heavily forested. For example, Richard Ligon (1657:23), who lived in Barbados from 1647 to 1650, learned from several of the island's "most ancient planters," that Barbados' first groups of colonists found the island "so overgrown with wood, as there could be found no champions [field of military exercise], or savannas for men to dwell in." Early farms were primarily situated along the western (or leeward) coast (see, for example, the map in Ligon; Figure 1), but as the population expanded, and especially with the growth of sugar plantations in the 1640s, forests were more extensively cleared. Whereas in 1647-50 Ligon (1657:24) reported that "the woods were so thick, and most of the trees so large and massive, ... they were not to be false with so few" people, by the 1650s and 1660s most forest land had been destroyed; by the mid-1660s "all but the smallest traces of forest had been removed through felling or burning" (Watts 1966:62).⁶ The rapidly changing ecology of Barbados during this period had important implications for the nature of marronage.

In 1648, an English visitor, perhaps overstating the numbers, referred to the "many hundreds of rebel Negro slaves in the woods" (Plantagenet

1648). Richard Ligon (1657:105), arguably the best-known primary source for seventeenth-century British Caribbean social history, referred to his residence on the island during the late 1640s, when he mentioned the slaves who "harbour themselves in woods and caves, living upon pillage for many months together." Life on the sugar plantations during this period was extremely harsh and brutal, and although life for the Maroons also must have been very harsh, the caves, Ligon wrote (1657:98),

are very frequent, some small, others extreamly large and capacious. The runaway Negroes often shelter themselves in these coverts ... and in the night range abroad the countrey, and steale pigs, plantins, potatoes, and pullin, and bring it there; and feast all day, upon what they stole the night before; and the nights being dark, and their bodies black, they scape undiscern'd.⁷

Such caves, many examples of which can be seen today (e.g., Lange & Handler 1980; Gurnee 1980), were, as they still are, scattered about the island. Also there were (and still are) abundant forested gullies throughout Barbados' parishes. Maroons could conceal themselves "for a long time" (Ligon 1657:98), and often engaged in actions that whites found threatening and criminal. "Great mischief arises," reported a 1676 slave law, "from the frequent running away and hiding out of Negroes whereby they become desperate rogues," and fifteen years earlier, a 1661 act also stressed how whites "have much suffered by the running away of Negroes" who "do continually much mischief."⁸ In June 1657, the Barbados Council received a complaint that "divers rebellious and runaway Negroes ... lurking in woods and secret places ... in the parish of St. Joseph [in the Scotland District] are committing many violences and attempting to assassinate people"; a few months later the legislature requested the governor to appoint "a certain day" and "issue commissions for a general hunting ... throughout the island of ... the great number of Negroes that are out in rebellion committing murders, robberies, and divers other mischiefs."⁹

Incidents such as the preceding apparently involved marauding bands of Maroons (rather than slaves operating as isolated individuals) and were not necessarily viewed by whites as organized conspiracies for large-scale risings; yet the existence of Maroon bands clearly had that potential and afforded opportunities, as noted in the 1661 act, "for raising mutinies or rebellion." Maroon bands not only engaged in direct action against white persons and property (including setting cane fires), but also they were difficult to locate, "hiding themselves, sometimes in one place and sometimes in another, so that with much difficulty they are to be found, unless by some sudden surprise."¹⁰ As late as 1692, shortly after the discovery of

a major slave conspiracy (cf. Handler 1982), the Barbados legislature passed a law which emphasized that slaves could successfully escape for extended periods "and by their long absence from the service of their owners, they become desperate, and daily plot and commit felonies and other enormities" (Hall 1764:130-31). The Newton plantation attorney also complained to the plantation's owners in 1693 of his "continual trouble ... [in] "daily hunting and seeking after ... notorious runaway negroes," and suggested that "good negroes" purchased in the future should be branded "with N, which method you will find ... very advantageous to your interest" (Bate 1693); the contemporary sources do not suggest that his experiences and recommendations were unique.

Both the 1692 law and the Newton attorney were probably referring to Maroons who were operating singly or in very small groups. For as the years progressed, and by the last quarter or so of the seventeenth century, ecological changes in Barbados depleted the forests and fundamentally altered the opportunities for forming larger Maroon bands and the chances of their evading capture for relatively long periods. Moreover, the caves, too, became more accessible to white patrols. Large-scale marronage seems to have ended, for all intents and purposes, by the last quarter of the seventeenth century (cf. Gaspar 1979a and 1979b).

Because of sparse information, it is difficult to neatly place Barbados' early Maroons into the conventional typology of *petit* and *grand marronage*. Although "this distinction ... does not preclude the existence of borderline cases and the possibility of a shift from one to the other" (Manigat 1977:423), the typology implies or requires an imputation of motives to Maroons as well as an assessment of the objective behaviors in which they engaged. Debien (1979:111) views *petit marronage* as "an act of individuals or at most of very small groups" who stayed close to the plantations from which they escaped and "subsisted not by systematically pillaging crops but by stealing small amounts of food and committing minor thefts, in a kind of symbiosis with the plantation." For Manigat (1977:423) in *petit marronage* "the fugitive slave runs wild spontaneously," remains at large for only "a few days ... and always leaves open the possibility of a quick return at the most propitious moment" while Richard Price (1979:3; cf. Higman 1984:386) defines *petit marronage* as "repetitive or periodic truancy with temporary goals such as visiting a relative or lover on a neighboring plantation." Whichever definition or emphasis is accepted, the term is clearly applicable to what sometimes occurred among Barbados' early Maroons, and Price's definition applies throughout the slave period in Barbados.

However, during the colony's early years, despite the geographic and

demographic factors that prevented "marronage on the grand scale" that occurred elsewhere in the New World such as Jamaica or the Guianas, and which involved the formation of "independent communities ... that struck directly at the foundations of the plantation system" (Price 1979:3), some of Barbados' early bands apparently approached a form of *grand marronage*, that is, "flight from the plantation with no intention of ever returning" (Debien 1979:107). These early Maroon bands may have unrealistically judged the degree of refuge Barbados could ultimately provide, and many bands may have been only short-lived. However, the actions of these bands, as suggested by the sources, indicate that the Maroons perceived their absenteeism as more than temporary escape and had a goal "to stay free as long as possible ... at least to the limit of human resistance" (Manigat 1977:423). As time progressed, in Barbados, as Gaspar (1979b:13) observed for Antigua during the early eighteenth century, "few [Maroon bands] could expect to remain at large for long ... [but] expecting capture sooner or later, enjoyed freedom while it lasted by openly defying the authorities."

REFUGE IN BARBADOS

With the continuing removal of Barbados' forest cover as plantation acreage expanded and sugar production increased during the last half of the seventeenth century, opportunities decreased for the survival of Maroon bands. Yet, individuals continued to abscond, and even as late in the deforestation process as 1727, for example, the catechist at the Codrington plantations complained that Barbadian slaves showed their "proneness to run away from their masters, into the woods for months together" (quoted in Bennett 1958:26). Nonetheless, as the years progressed, the island's small size and lack of major forests and mountains, combined with extensive agricultural development, population growth, a relatively large resident white population, and an organized militia, subjected Maroons to an intense pressure which afforded few opportunities for permanent refuge. As William Dickson (1814:440) – who lived in Barbados as the governor's secretary in the 1770s and early 1780s and was very knowledgeable about island conditions – among others, observed in the late eighteenth century: "Barbados contains fewer hiding places for runaways than any other West Indian colony."

But "fewer" did not mean "none," and despite limited natural refuge areas, such areas existed and were exploited by Maroons until very late in the slave period. Visiting Barbados in 1833, Thomas Rolph (1836:29)

described the gullies and ravines along the road that meandered through the rugged upland country from Vacluse to Bloomsbury plantations in St. Thomas parish.¹¹ He learned that in earlier times, probably in the late eighteenth century perhaps even the early nineteenth,

In many of these deep gullies, muffled ... in the luxuriant drapery of tropical shrubs and trees, and rendered inaccessible, many runaway Negroes have remained secreted for years, baffling and defying every search made for them; the militia have been compelled, sometimes, to go out in exploring parties to ferret them out.

Known to black populations from the earliest periods, Barbados' caves also served as natural hiding places in later periods. But it became increasingly difficult for Maroons to remain at large for an extended time while living in natural refuges and depending solely on their own cunning and resources to acquire food and other material necessities. Thus, from an early period Maroons were assisted by their fellow slaves, and this practice apparently became more important (at least it became more noticeable to whites) as time went by.

That the practice of slaves hiding and assisting other slaves occurred at an early date is suggested by the 1661 slave law mentioned above. One of its many clauses relating to Maroons directed plantation managements to search their slave houses twice weekly for fugitives; the same directive was essentially repeated in the major 1688 act, but the searches were now to be conducted twice monthly (Hall 1764:114). The 1688 act remained on the books until 1826 when the "slave consolidation act" merely authorized the raising of militia units to search slave houses "for fugitive or runaway slaves," illegal weapons, etc. whenever the occasion demanded.¹² I do not know to what extent the 1661 and 1688 laws were followed – even though they were enacted at a time when whites acutely feared Maroon bands and the possibility of slave revolts (Handler 1982). Nonetheless, the fact that the legislature ordered periodic searches of slave houses indicates an awareness that slaves were possibly harboring Maroons; the order also suggests that this practice was occurring with some regularity at least by the second half of the seventeenth century.

The practice of harboring Maroons in the slave quarters or plantation villages, also common elsewhere (e.g., Price 1979:13; Morgan 1985:71), became firmly embedded in the fabric of slave social life. The plantocracy formally acknowledged the practice in 1731 with passage of "an act for the punishment of run-away slaves." This act noted that slaves "often run away and absent themselves," and are "wilfully entertained, harboured and concealed by other slaves, to the great detriment of the owners of

such run-away slaves, and to the grievous mischief of the inhabitants of this island" (Hall 1764:286-87). The 1826 "slave consolidation act" also invoked sanctions against any slave who hid or assisted a Maroon.

Maroons were not only hidden and fed by other slaves, but also they were materially helped in other ways. In 1736, for example, the rector of St. Michael parish wrote that although only a "few" Barbadian slaves "read and write tolerably well," they "often" applied their literacy skills "to their owner's detriment by forging their hands" and "giving tickets to runaways."¹³ In early 1819, as a specific case, Sam's owner advertised for his return, claiming that Sam had obtained a "forged letter" in his owner's handwriting authorizing his absence.¹⁴ The practice of forgery probably increased over the years as slave literacy increased and may be a major reason why, as suggested earlier, tickets or written authorizations were not required by the "slave consolidation act."

A 1708 law (Baskett 1732:222-23) suggests another way slaves may have assisted Maroons. When the law was passed, slaveowners "often" placed metal "pot-hooks and rings, or collars" so that if slaves absconded again they could be more easily identified and captured. The law observed that "of late some persons" (racial group not specified) removed these objects so that Maroons could not be identified "and thereby keep out much longer"; the law forbade the removal of these objects and for violations specified fines for whites and whipping for slaves. The inclusion of sanctions against slaves suggests that they, as well as whites, engaged in the actions the law attempted to eliminate.

Slaves clearly assisted Maroons, but the social rules or norms of an emerging creole slave culture which presumably governed these assistance patterns are unknown. What obligations, if any, would a slave on one plantation feel toward an absentee from another plantation; and what expectations would the latter have of the former? Would strangers be expected to help strangers and how strong were such expectations? Were slaves who were socially linked to Maroons by friendship or kinship ties expected, because of such links, to assist their friends or kin? Sparse information precludes direct and detailed answers to such questions, but at least one important norm seems to have been that a close kin or friend (e.g., a parent, "wife" or a stable sexual partner) was expected, as a feature of the relationship, to provide assistance if requested. How effectively this norm worked in actual cases cannot be established.

The evidence that this norm existed (and, by extension, its reflection of the importance that slaves attached to family or other emotional ties) is, of necessity, indirect and inferential: however, it is strongly suggested by newspaper advertisements publicizing runaways and offering rewards for

their return. At the minimum, as was typical throughout Anglo-America, such advertisements specified the absentees' physical characteristics, e.g., sex, approximate age or age group, "racial" features, stature, distinguishing marks. Also they often indicated or suggested locales where the slaves might be found. When the name and residence of an absentee's close kin was known, this information was also given, as illustrated in the following excerpts from typical advertisements in the *Barbados Mercury* for January and February, 1816:

Lydia Ann, aged about 13 or 14, was "supposed to be harboured about Baxter's road, for in that neighborhood she has a mother named Kate Harper ... and her father, ... Harry Grant, belonging to Mrs. Thorne"

Abraham was "supposed to be with his wife at Mr. Israel Armstrong's near Holligan's"

Sally, who apparently normally lived in Bridgetown, "was suspected of being harboured at ... Vaucluse ... where she has connections"

Frank was "likely" to "be harboured by his father, Cuffy Jones, ... at St. Ann's"

and Betty, "well known in town and market, ... most likely is harboured by her husband, ... Dicky Bird, belonging to Newton Estate, or her son Robert (a carpenter) living with his wife at Mr. T. Brown's Place ... The Hope, Christ Church; she has a sister belonging to Mrs. Patrick, near ... [Codrington] College, where she may also be harboured." Later and earlier newspapers also show this advertising pattern.¹⁵

Barry Higman (1984:390), in his major study of British Caribbean slavery during the early nineteenth century, also implied the general existence of this norm throughout the British Caribbean. He suggested that Barbadian cases of kin-harboring "were common" because "cross-plantation mating was frequent and the density of kin great." In his statistical analysis of nineteenth-century Barbados newspaper advertisements, Heuman (1985:107-8) also found confirmation for this norm, and inferred that more than double the slaves in his sample were "supposedly harboured by family as by non-family members." Parent-child relationships were the most important, but so was husband-wife; to a lesser degree, but "not insignificant," were sibling relationships. Interestingly, "parents emerge as the kin who harboured runaways for the longest average time." Some family members who hid Maroons may have been freedmen. Freedmen sometimes had slave kin, such as children or wives who, for one reason or another, they were unable to manumit.¹⁶

I do not mean to imply that only kinsmen or close (sexual) friends were expected to hide Maroons, but newspaper advertisements suggest that this expectation was an important feature of the kin and affinal connec-

tion; and, conversely, one significant dimension of these bonds was that they involved obligations to render assistance to close affines or kin who absconded from their masters.

Newspaper advertisements not only indicate that slave families were dispersed over the island, but also they suggest another possible aspect of marronage. That is, many slaves reported as runaways, especially during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, may not have hoped or desired permanent escape from the slave system; rather, they viewed themselves as temporary absentees with short-term goals of being with close kinsmen or lovers. Although whites probably considered that many of these slaves were trying to permanently escape their masters' control, the slaves themselves viewed their absences as ways to visit people with whom they felt emotionally linked. From the perspective of the slave, then, a nonauthorized absence might have been the only available mechanism whereby a close relationship could be affirmed and solidified. "Visiting," Philip Morgan (1985:69, 72) has written for Colonial South Carolina, "is most significant in demonstrating the range and strength of slave kin ties." Whether such visiting behaviors can be identified as resistance in the strictest sense is doubtful. Yet, such behaviors deprived masters of slave labor and challenged their authority by non-authorized absences; in this sense they were a form of resistance, albeit not an explicitly intentional one.

Whether seeking temporary or permanent escape, plantation slaves went to other rural areas or, more commonly as the years progressed and as urban populations grew, sought the towns, especially Bridgetown, the island's capital and major urban center. For skilled slaves, the towns afforded greater employment opportunities; for those seeking permanent escape the towns provided opportunities to find ship captains who would take them abroad (see below). The relative anonymity of the towns, particularly Bridgetown, also permitted absentees (whether of rural or urban origin) to conduct their daily lives under the pretext of being free. This urban attraction, also evident in other colonies (e.g., Higman 1984:387; Morgan 1985:67) is often reflected in newspaper advertisements: for example, an owner reported that Thomas "is a very artful fellow, and may undertake to pass himself as a freeman"; another owner observed that Hamlet "has a [good] deal to say for himself, [and] may easily pass for a free man" (quoted in Heuman 1985: 99); and a third owner, reporting on a "young mulatto," a carpenter named Jack, with "a very fair complexion [and] light hair" had "no doubt" that Jack "passes for a white man."¹⁷ Attempting to pass often exacerbated an already existing problem for freedmen who could be arrested as runaways and ultimately sold as slaves

if their free status could not be successfully proven or validated. Over the years Maroons increasingly sought refuge in towns and attempted to pass as freedmen. This tendency was a direct consequence of the growth of the freedman community during the early decades of the nineteenth century and its concentration in Bridgetown (Handler 1974:16-20, 59-65; cf. Heuman 1985:100, 104).

Maroons were often attracted to areas in Bridgetown where British military or naval personnel were concentrated. By the late eighteenth century and over subsequent years the area around St. Ann's garrison became a favored congregating place for, in the governor's words, "vaga-bond and runaway blacks."¹⁸ The garrison, many of whose buildings are still standing and occupied (for civilian purposes) was constructed in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries to house British military forces, including black troops of the West India regiments. Indeed, the presence of these troops was probably the garrison's major attraction for Maroons (and some even may have been actually harbored by the soldiers). They could more readily blend with the slaves and freedmen catering to various needs, including sexual, of the military, and by the first few decades of the nineteenth century some may have also attempted to enlist in the West India regiments as freedmen (see Handler 1984). Whatever the case, it is not unusual to find newspaper advertisements reporting that a runaway was believed "to conceal himself in or about the barracks at St. Ann's castle" or had been spotted and "may be taken at ... St. Ann's"; these slaves even may have been actually harbored by soldiers.¹⁹

Wherever and however they successfully hid, Maroons continued to use the towns and attempted to pass as free. Even in the twilight of slavery slaveowners advertised, for example, for "a Negro man slave by name Andrew [who] absented himself ... he has represented himself ... as a free man when making for employ."²⁰ As late as 1833, the Barbados governor wrote the Colonial Office that

some anxiety exists here at the great number of runaways from the estates ... They now amount to between 4[00] and 500, but many of these have been absent two and three years, which shows the wretched state of the police as runaways almost always conceal themselves in towns.²¹

It seems surprising that so late in the slave period Maroons were able to elude capture, if the governor's figures can be believed, for as long as two or three years. It also appears that at this time the towns afforded the best chances for remaining free for long periods; long-term escapes in the

countryside probably would have been more difficult (but not impossible) because of limited natural refuge areas and the chance that unknown blacks in a district could have been more readily identified as runaways.

In earlier periods, when natural refuges were more plentiful and hiding places more difficult to discover, Maroons could remain at large for relatively long periods, sometimes, as Ligon (1657:105) reported in the late 1640s, "for many months together," in some cases perhaps for as much as a year or more. Long-term absences in earlier periods are also suggested by several laws. Observing that "diverse Negroes are and long since have been runaway into woods and other fastness of the island," the 1661 and 1688 slave acts enabled the raising of armed patrols to capture such Maroons "either alive or dead." For those captured alive after an absence of over six months a reward was offered; it was greater for the capture of those absent over one year.²² Similarly, 1676 and 1692 laws seem to imply that slaves could often elude capture for more than a month; these laws mandate the death penalty for captured Maroons who had been living in Barbados for at least a year and who had been absent for a month or more.²³ Executions under the 1676 and 1692 acts occurred in the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. It is impossible, however, to determine how often the 1692 act was invoked in later periods and how many slaves lost their lives under these laws; or how long the average Maroon at particular historical periods could expect to remain at large.

Occasional specific cases indicate the lengths of time that some could remain at large, and thus suggest the range of possibilities. In 1702, a slaveowner was financially compensated after the execution of his "Negro woman" who had been absent "for over a year,"²⁴ in the early 1780s a "Negro was lost for several weeks or months" until "met accidentally by the man whose business it was to take up runaway Negroes,"²⁵ and Higman (1984:390) cites a newspaper ad for a man who had been absent for about a year before his master advertised for his return in 1815. In fact, newspaper advertisements sometimes indicate relatively long absences when they report, for example, that (as of the date of an advertisement's appearance) a slave had been absent "for many years," "several months past," "for some time," and "some time ago."²⁶ Most advertisements do not specify the length of the absence, but information was collected on twenty-nine absentees: thirteen (45 percent) had been absent two weeks or less, but four (14 percent) had been missing from five to eight months and another four had been absent for one to two years; the remaining eight (27 percent) fell between one to four months.²⁷ It bears emphasizing that these periods mark absences from when the ads first appeared. It was common for ads to repeat themselves over several issues of a newspaper,

sometimes for several weeks or months, but it is unknown how long the advertised runaways were able to remain at large, or, indeed, if they were able to escape permanently: "they will run away," lamented a Barbados merchant in the late seventeenth century, "and perhaps be never seen more" (Littleton 1689:19-20).

Newton plantation's daily work logs for 24 months, 1796-98, show that five first- and second-gang slaves had been "absent" (the logs do not use the word "runaway") for periods ranging from two to thirty days, averaging ten days; at Seawell plantation, over a twenty-two-month period during the same years, another five slaves had been absent from one to twenty days, averaging 9.2.²⁸ A plantation owner complained to his manager that "James has been absent so long as four months ... [and] the boy Ned, who has been absent for several years ... must now be grown to a man."²⁹ In 1813 Newton's attorney recalled a case in the late 1790s when George "ran away and has never been heard of."³⁰ In one case, a reward was offered for the capture of Primus, a driver at Mount Wilton plantation. Three months earlier he had been sent, with a ten-day written absence permit, to search for another plantation slave, Prince, who had been absent for a long, but unspecified, period. Rather than return to the plantation, however, Primus absconded.³¹ The ad implies a suspicion that both slaves were still in Barbados, but this is not certain. Both may have escaped the island completely as did other reported long-term absentees (see below). Heuman (1985:104) cites a few cases of long-term runaways who remained undetected in Barbados for many years. In one case, the slave had successfully passed as free for sixteen years; in another, the slave lived in the village of another plantation for at least twenty-five years; in a third case, an African-born man lived "six years in Barbados before being discovered as a slave." Heuman (1985:109) is probably correct in his assumption that sometimes owners made little effort to claim or recapture runaways because they no longer wanted slaves who may have been especially troublesome or whose labor was no longer valued; the elderly or the infirm, for example, were occasionally manumitted for the latter reasons (Handler 1974:34).

MARITIME MARRONAGE

Higman (1984:388) has observed that Maroons "had greater chance of success in remaining free" if they could "enter urban situations" or "escape by boat." Boat escapes were fairly widespread in the Caribbean, and the late Jamaican historian Neville Hall coined the phrase "maritime

marronage" to refer to overseas escapes from the small islands of the Danish West Indies (cf. Beckles 1985:92n2). Some absentees who hid in Bridgetown and elsewhere in Barbados may have been actually awaiting opportunities for such "maritime marronage." Indeed, it is likely that many absentees who attempted to hide in Barbados were in fact only seeking temporary refuge while awaiting an opportunity to escape the island, and the slave system, permanently.

Evidence occurs very early in Barbados' history that white indentured servants escaped the island by sea (e.g., Colt 1925), indirectly suggesting the possibility and likelihood that slaves did the same. Servants continued escaping throughout the seventeenth century (Beckles 1985), but only later seventeenth- and eighteenth-century sources provide direct information that slaves also made their way to neighboring (often French-held) islands in stolen "shallops, boats, and other vessels"³²; some may have had access to these vessels as fisherman or boatmen. Later periods also sometimes yield evidence of escaped fishermen, sailors, or boatmen whose stolen boats took them as far as the British Leeward islands.³³ In 1712 two Codrington slaves "went off in a sloop with a white man." One of them, prompted by the desire to rejoin his wife and children, returned to Barbados in 1713; the other was reported to be "wandering ... somewhere in the Leeward Islands," perhaps Antigua (Bennett 1958:26).

St. Vincent, a Carib Indian stronghold lying approximately 100 miles west of Barbados, was, by the 1660s (and probably earlier), a refuge for escaped slaves. In 1668 Barbados' Governor Willoughby signed a treaty with several Carib chiefs. The treaty provided that the Indians were to return "Negroes formerly run away from Barbadoes" as well as those "as shall hereafter be fugitives from any English islands."³⁴ In early 1676 St. Vincent may have contained about "600 escaped Negroes"³⁵ – "some run away from Barbadoes and elsewhere."³⁶ Father Labat, a French priest, visited St. Vincent in 1700 and noted that in addition to Caribs the island also contained

a very great number of fugitive negroes, for the most part from Barbados, which, being to windward ... gives the runaways every possible facility for escaping from their masters' plantations in boats or on piperies or rafts, and taking refuge among the savages. (Quoted in Taylor 1951:22)

There are indications that Barbadian slaves continued escaping to St. Vincent throughout the seventeenth century,³⁷ so increasing the number of so-called Black Caribs that Labat could observe that the

number of Negroes on St. Vincent has increased to such an extent, either by those born in the country or by those come from Barbados to join them, that it much surpasses that of the Caribs. (Quoted in Taylor 1951:22)

Some slaves may have fled to St. Vincent during the early eighteenth century, but the evidence (Douglass 1755, I:132) is ambiguous; however, there are indications that the island was a refuge for escapees in later periods (Heuman 1985:101).

Barbadian slaves also managed escape to other French-held islands, particularly Martinique and St. Lucia, approximately 140 miles and 100 miles, respectively, to the northwest.

The passage from Barbados to Martinique is short, and easily performed in small boats, whereby Negro slaves run away, are stolen by sailors or driven away in boats by stress of weather, etc.³⁸

The Barbados Council sent the home government a "list of 31 Negroes ... stolen, runaway or driven by stress of weather from Barbados to Martinique in 1717, 1718."³⁹ Slaves "driven by stress of weather" were probably fishermen whose boats had been blown off course. In general, slaves who were kidnapped or who fled to the French islands during the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries were rarely returned to Barbados, "even in times of peace" between the British and French.⁴⁰

Some slaves bound for Martinique and St. Lucia during this period were kidnapped by Frenchmen. In 1722, the Barbados Council president lamented the "disordered and ruinous state of this colony," illustrating Barbados' vulnerability by reporting how its inadequate military defenses could not prevent Frenchmen from landing at night and engaging in illicit trade; they also "steal and carry away our Negroes."⁴¹ British smugglers also clandestinely traded with the French. In one case in 1725 "several boatloads of Negroes," surreptitiously boarded on a ship in Barbados, were ultimately sold in Dominica.⁴² Newspaper advertisements occasionally indicate that Barbadian slaves who had been sold or taken abroad had escaped and were suspected of having returned to Barbados. Illustrative, but not unique, is the case of a man who had been sold to owners in Demerara. He absconded from his new owners who had "great reason to think he has returned to Barbados."⁴³ One can only speculate on the motivations for such returnees, but they probably had a great deal to do with family connections.

Some slaves who were illegally removed from Barbados may have been taken by physical force, or under its threat. Others (as well as indentured

servants in the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries) voluntarily agreed to clandestinely leave Barbados after having been enticed aboard ships by captains, agents, or other middlemen who offered them freedom or a better life elsewhere. To the extent to which slaves permitted themselves to be verbally enticed to voluntarily board ships, believing they were to gain freedom elsewhere, they can be considered Maroons. What ultimately happened to such slaves is largely unknown; most were probably sold into slavery while some may have escaped permanently and successfully passed as freedmen. This occurred from a very early date, and by 1651 and 1652, if not earlier, laws were passed "against the stealing away of Negroes from off this island" (Hall 1764:463, 465). "Divers wicked persons have lately attempted to steal away Negroes," observed the 1652 law, "by specious pretence of promising them freedom in another country." The law, in fact, not only prohibited the actual unauthorized removal of slaves, but also forbade anyone from attempting to "persuade any Negroes to leave their masters service ... with an intent to carry ... them out of this island" (Jennings 1654:47).

Clearly, slaves were escaping if the promise of freedom outside of Barbados provided an incentive to voluntarily board ships under, one must assume, secretive conditions and at considerable bodily risk. Regardless of their ultimate disposition and fate in other territories, when these slaves agreed to leave Barbados they probably assumed they were permanently escaping their masters and slavery.

Departing from Barbados with the illegal complicity and enticement of whites was an opportunity for slaves and a problem slaveowners confronted throughout the period of slavery. And the regularity of this practice is reflected in the laws designed to eliminate it. The earliest of these, as noted above, appears to have been passed in 1651 and 1652, but laws in 1661, 1688, 1700, 1706, and 1709, addressed the same "pernicious practice" by attempting to close loopholes in earlier laws and increasing the sanctions, particularly the fines, against violators.⁴⁴ Fines and other precautionary measures (such as requiring departing ship captains to swear an oath that they were not illegally removing any slaves) to the contrary notwithstanding, the surreptitious removal of slaves continued and apparently reached such large proportions that in 1727 the legislature decided to impose the ultimate sanction.

Stressing that trading ships, primarily from Martinique, had been anchoring at remote offshore points in Barbados expressly "to steal, force or entice ... slaves" (as well as white debtors and indentured servants) to leave the island, on August 8, 1727 the legislature clearly stated the gravity with which it (and slaveowners in general) viewed illegal removal:

it was made into a felony and the death penalty "without benefit of clergy" was to be imposed (Hall 1764:283, 492). This law was modified in 1753 (Hall 1764:369), when the continuing "clandestine" removal of slaves was again noted; the death penalty, however, remained, and, as far as can be established, stayed in effect until the end of the slave period. William Dickson (1814:451) later reported several cases wherein the death penalty was imposed (although in all cases it appears the accused were ultimately pardoned); yet, he notes, "the practice of smuggling away Negroes, in defiance of death and confiscation was perfectly notorious; ... and a lucrative trade it undoubtedly was."

Although hope for escape through illegal traders apparently continued into the nineteenth century, as time passed slaves also used other devices for boarding ships. One of these was made possible by the relatively large numbers of tradesmen and other skilled slaves hired out by their owners; such slaves had relative freedom of movement, particularly in towns. One such person was William, a "mulatto man, about 27 years old," who had escaped from Barbados and was still at large over a year after his escape; he was "seen in St. Lucia shortly after he absented himself, and intimated he was allowed his time to work for the purchase of his freedom."⁴⁵ Another method, which became feasible with the growth of the freedman population by the late eighteenth century (Handler 1974:12-28), involved fraudulently claiming to be free while negotiating passage with a ship captain. This method is illustrated by an incident that occurred during the summer of 1802, as summarized by Governor Seaforth.⁴⁶ A British naval vessel bound for Martinique had briefly anchored at Barbados; before leaving it was going to take a few "Negro lads" aboard. The captain was ultimately accused of planning to entice the slaves with offers of money, clothes, and jobs as stewards. In his defense, the captain asserted that when he came ashore to dine he was approached by the slaves who claimed they were free and offered their services as stewards. Whatever actually happened, the captain clearly gave what he believed was a legitimate defense, that is, the slaves had duped him into believing they were free.⁴⁷ A similar incident may have occurred in the following year.

Other slaves who gained shipboard passage not only may have pretended to be free, but also may have purchased passage with money they accumulated through such activities as being hired out or marketing. Others may have bribed ship captains while freely admitting their slave status. In whatever way slaves made it on board ships, and whatever motivated captains (or other crew members) to assist them and risk serious legal penalties, escape from Barbados continued to occur during the late

eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries – the overwhelming majority of the escapees being men (Heuman 1985:101).

The continuing concern of slaveholders that their slaves might flee the island is well reflected in newspaper advertisements. These regularly warned ship captains or others that they would be prosecuted if they removed slaves from Barbados; advertisements also explicitly record suspicions that runaways might be preparing to leave. One owner, for example, believed that a young woman was hidden by her father, possibly a freedman, who the owner suspected “is using his endeavors to get her off the island”; another owner opined that an absent African “no doubt will try to get to one of the neighbouring islands”⁴⁸; a third advertised for an elderly woman and her daughter, and cautioned “all masters of vessels ... not to take them from the island, as the law will be rigidly enforced against them.”⁴⁹

Though surely atypical in its details, the case of John Thomas illustrates a successful escapee. Thomas, a “mulatto,” was a carpenter at Newton plantation, where he was born and had a large family. In 1808 or 1809, when in his late twenties, he gained passage (by unknown means) on a ship bound for several Caribbean islands. For three or four years Thomas lived abroad (probably passing as free), and in 1813 boarded a ship in Grenada bound for England – where he arrived in the summer of that year. Somehow Thomas located Newton’s absentee owner. He complained of the unfair treatment that he had received from Newton’s manager and stated his desire to return to Barbados on the “promise of indemnity and no stripes.” The plantation attorney in Barbados, a prominent planter himself, was livid when he learned of Thomas’s presence in England. He gave his version of why Thomas escaped and added in his letter to the owner:

I wish to heaven you could get out of this fellow how he escaped from the country and by whom he was conveyed from the island; nothing would give me more pleasure than to punish the captain of the vessel. These are things which are constantly occurring. I have three slaves absent from me in the same way.⁵⁰

In his anger and statement concerning his own absentees, the attorney probably reflected widespread feelings among slaveowners. Although there is no way of establishing how many slaves escaped Barbados or successfully hid on the island during this period (and earlier) their numbers were clearly sufficient to irritate, anger, and frustrate the authorities and slaveowners. A major expression of these sentiments and concern with Maroons in general was the legislative and other attention devoted over the years to their capture, confinement, and punishment.

CAPTURE, CONFINEMENT, AND PUNISHMENT

Slaveowners sometimes dispatched "slaves in whom they place confidence" to hunt down Maroons, wrote William Dickson (1814:433) in the late eighteenth century.⁵¹ When, for example, two newly purchased Africans "fled to Bridgetown" from the Codrington plantations in 1746, "seasoned Negroes went in search of them" (Bennett 1958:49). Newspaper advertisements suggest that this practice was not uncommon in Barbados in general. In the case of Primus, the driver at Mount Wilton plantation, cited above, this "confidence" was misplaced. Mingo was an apparently habitual absentee; if questioned in locales where he was not known, he explained his presence "by saying he is sent out in search of runaways" and "appears publicly in the character of a runaway catcher."⁵² Several laws attempted to encourage slaves to assist in capturing runaways. In 1661 they were offered a currency reward for capturing absentees of more than a year; although this provision, among others, was inexplicably repealed in 1688, in 1826 a reward was again offered as "due encouragement" to slaves who captured runaways or informed against those "who shall harbour or conceal any runaway."⁵³ The impact of these laws or the extent to which slaves themselves hunted and captured Maroons is unknown, but the sources convey the impression that whites were primarily involved, especially in the earlier historical periods.

Seventeenth-century laws ordered plantation overseers and owners to regularly search slave houses for "fugitive and runaway Negroes."⁵⁴ Although these requirements were not repealed until 1826, they were probably not regularly followed by plantation managements – beyond short periods in the seventeenth century after the discovery of revolt conspiracies; there is no information, however, if house searches resulted in the capture of any Maroons.

In the seventeenth century armed patrols of whites appear to have been the most frequent way that Maroons were hunted and captured. Sometimes these patrols were formed from militia units in the area where Maroons were suspected of hiding; at other times special warrants or orders were issued permitting individuals to raise armed posses to search for "such Negroes [who] stand forth in rebellion."⁵⁵

Raising patrols of "up to 20 armed men" to seek Maroons was probably first codified in 1661; the provision was repealed in 1688. A similar authorization, limiting patrols to ten men, was continued in 1731, and this persisted until 1826 when up to twenty men was reintroduced.⁵⁶ However, although formally organized armed groups occasionally tracked Maroons in later periods,⁵⁷ such patrols were less common as Maroon

bands disappeared. For most of the slave period, individuals or small groups, acting on an ad hoc basis, seem to have been responsible for the capture of most runaways. These individuals were probably largely motivated by the prospect of monetary rewards.

The earliest laws concerning runaways specified monetary rewards for the capture of "Negro's that wander and run from their masters plantation" (e.g., Jennings 1654:43-45, 81-83, 146-48). The reward amounts and details of their allocation were modified over the years, but rewards were fundamental to the system of runaway arrest. Legally-specified rewards were paid by the public treasury (which was later reimbursed by the slaveowner) to capturers who turned runaways over to the provost marshall while the slaveowner himself paid a reward if a runaway was returned directly to him.⁵⁸ Newspaper advertisements regularly offered rewards, sometimes specifying the amounts, sometimes merely offering a "handsome reward." The latter phrase as well as specific sums also occurs in plantation documents.⁵⁹

In early years white servants may have been required, as "part of their work description as defined by their masters," Beckles (1985:85) writes, to hunt Maroons, while "ex-servants were paid a fee" for this service. Beckles (1985:85) relates an incident in the 1680s of a former servant who continued as a wage laborer for his ex-master and whose job involved hunting runaway servants and slaves – "eventually he suffered the loss of an arm from a blow administered by a runaway slave"; during the same period another servant also "lost an arm pursuing a runaway slave." Since slaves (and freedmen) were virtually unprotected against whites, free blacks and slaves on their masters' authorized business could be erroneously identified as Maroons by overzealous whites eager for a reward (cf. Pinckard 1806, I:396-99). The frequency of marronage and the reward system ultimately stimulated some whites to become bounty hunters whose livelihood depended to some degree on capturing Maroons. Referred to variously as "runaway-catchers," "Negro-catchers," and "Negro-hunters," these people were "detested by the Negroes," and, consequently, according to Dickson (1789:94), "do not often go out at nights unarmed" for fear of being attacked; in fact Dickson (1814:359-61) described an incident wherein a "a white Negro-hunter ... in my neighborhood, got a severe beating from a runaway." The existence of bounty hunters in the later periods is further attested in a letter from Barbados' deputy provost marshall: figures on the number of captured runaways were unavailable, he reported to a colonial official in 1826, because "they are taken up, not only by constables, *but other persons promiscuously, who are employed for that service*, and in many instances are carried

home to their owners for the proffered reward," rather than being taken to the provost marshal (emphasis supplied).⁶⁰

By the early 1650s Barbados' legal apparatus defined, albeit briefly, the provost marshal's office as playing a central role in the process by which runaways were arrested, confined, and claimed by their owners.⁶¹ The details of this process became more elaborate over the years as laws relating to runaways were periodically modified. The essential features of the provost marshal's role, however, established in the second half of the seventeenth century, endured until the end of the slave period.

Briefly, a captured runaway, not directly returned to his owner, was to be delivered to the provost marshal who was charged with confining the slave and providing him "with sufficient food and drink" until claimed by his owner. Before the slave was discharged, the owner had to reimburse the public treasury for the reward it paid to the capturer, and then pay the provost marshal a per diem (as well as a general fee in later times) for each day the slave was in custody. The provost marshal was responsible for financially compensating a slaveowner should his slave die in custody for lack of food or should he escape; in such cases, he was also required to reimburse the treasury for the reward it had allocated. The provost marshal was to hold the slave for a certain period; if unclaimed the slave was to be sold at public auction, the proceeds going to meet expenses and the surplus into the public treasury.

Until claimed, arrested slaves were placed in the "cage," a "small, low, dirty-looking building, with grated doors and windows" – as described by an American in 1814 (Browne 1926:79), also called the "slave prison." The cage was distinguished from the "common gaol" and was specifically constructed for Maroons. By the 1650s a cage had been established in Bridgetown (Jennings 1654:43-45; Shilstone 1933), and by the middle of the eighteenth century, and probably much earlier, smaller cages also existed in the other towns. "The cages in the towns," wrote Dickson (1789:137-38), are "so called from their fronts being composed of open frames of hard timber. In those miserable receptacles, which, next to the plantation dungeons, are the most lively emblems of slavery, runaways are confined in irons or in stocks."

It seems that runaways were only very temporarily housed in the cages of the other towns; from these cages they were transferred to Bridgetown, site of the principal cage.⁶² For many years the Bridgetown cage was centrally located, fronting Broad Street, the capital's main thoroughfare (Shilstone 1933). Maintained by the government and periodically inspected by legislative committees,⁶³ the cage was repaired and enlarged over the years, but always remained, even by the standards of the period, dingy,

cramped, and unsanitary. By the early nineteenth century, Bridgetown's white merchants and residents considered it "a common nuisance" and in September 1817 they petitioned for the construction of a new cage that would be located away from Bridgetown's "most populous street." The petitioners described the existing cage as very "narrow and confined," lacking side or rear openings permitting cross ventilation, filthy, and disease-ridden; they also found it "odorous" and noisy throughout the day and night. A few months later the legislature ordered the construction of a new cage away from the city streets.⁶⁴

Whites viewed marronage gravely and "the longer and oftener a slave deserts," observed Dickson (1814:440), "the more severe is his treatment when caught." Punishments specified in the laws included public execution for repeated offenders (and certain long-term escapees), branding, and severe whipping. (In addition, if in resisting arrest a slave struck, attempted to strike, or killed a white he was subject to the death penalty, which governed slave felonies in general since the mid-1600s.) Also, slavemasters had considerable latitude in inflicting the punishments they considered appropriate. The whip was regularly used. Although the maximum number of lashes for particular offenses varied in the laws, there is no indication that slavemasters felt legally or otherwise constrained or that such laws were enforced to any great extent.⁶⁵ Joseph Senhouse, an Englishman whose family had plantation interests in Barbados, reported a case in the late 1770s wherein a plantation slave

being threaten'd with a severe punishment for absenting himself ... threw himself head long into a copper full of boiling cane liquor & was instantly scalded to death. Several instances of the like shocking nature has been known in this island.

Senhouse also indicated another punishment, or, at any rate, what the slavemaster believed to be a punishment based on his understanding of the slaves' conception of the afterlife. One day Senhouse observed at a neighboring plantation the "head of a Negroe stuck upon a pole close to the road side." He learned that this slave had frequently absconded; "as soon as he died [the cause of death is not reported], his head was fix there." The slavemaster believed this action would deter marronage because slaves, after death, would not want to return to Africa "without a head"; "there are three other horrid spectacles of the like nature at this time on the above plantation," Senhouse wrote in his diary, "having all been guilty of the same offence" (Senhouse 1986-88:181-2, 186-7).

Certain common disciplinary measures were not legally codified but

became well established in custom. After ordering a whipping, for example, slavemasters, from an early period and for many years afterward (and following a widespread practice in New World slave societies), often placed iron collars with long projecting spikes on the necks of captured Maroons and/or fettered their legs with iron chains, "the better to distinguish them."⁶⁶ Dickson (1789:15-16), generalizing on the 1770s and early 1780s, wrote that "common punishments inflicted on runaways" on Barbadian plantations were "whipping, confinement in the [plantation] dungeon, fetters or stocks"; in addition,

some few work with a chain fastened round both ancles which, from its length, they are obliged to tuck up to enable them to walk; others have a chain locked, or an iron collar with projecting prongs, riveted, round the neck; others a boot, or ring of broad bar-iron hammered round one ancle; and those whose labour is nearly stationary are chained to a 56 lb. weight, or a log of wood. (Dickson 1789:122)

The 1826 "slave consolidation act" for the first time prohibited placing "any metal collar round the neck" or "chains, weights, or irons of any kind on the body or limbs"; however, slaveowners could still keep "refractory and disorderly slaves, or such as are addicted to runaway, in iron or wooden stocks, or secure places of confinement."⁶⁷

In general, the severity and intensity of punishments varied with the inclination and policies of particular slavemasters, the frequency of the individual slave's offense, and the customs and mores of the historical period. Extreme and sadistic punishments and excesses of violence probably abated by the final decades of the slave period. By the early nineteenth century, newspaper advertisements commonly assured runaways of a full pardon if they returned of their own will. The reforms of the age are also reflected in (though, of course, not demonstrated by) the "slave consolidation act" and the great length to which it specified the nature, conditions, and limits of the punishments slaves should receive. For the first time a law imposed fines for committing "wanton acts of cruelty" (such as excessive flogging), defined flogging procedures and the type of whip to be used, and invoked sanctions against those who "maim, mutilate, or dismember" slaves. In addition the act repealed a provision first enacted in 1661 and then renewed in 1688, viz. if a slave died because of punishment given by his master or his master's agent for running away or any other crime, no one was to be held legally responsible.⁶⁸ Yet, considering the approximately two centuries of the slave period, there is no evidence that captured Maroons received anything but harsh physical punishment, even judged by the standards of the day. Those who fled

always risked serious bodily harm as well as severe mental anguish; even death sometimes resulted.⁶⁹

CONCLUSIONS

The potential and actual severity of sanctions combined with Barbados' geographic and demographic features probably inhibited many slaves from escaping, and affected the nature of slave flight. Despite the constraints of a relatively numerous white population,⁷⁰ an organized militia, repressive laws, and changes in ecological conditions slaves continuously absconded from their masters. In the more mountainous islands of the Caribbean Maroon groups could hope to remain as independent settlements "with hopes of remaining undisturbed by slaveowners" (Higman 1984:390), but aside from the seventeenth century, when Barbados was heavily wooded, Maroons could not hope for such permanent escape on the island. Yet, from the early Maroon groups in the forested interior to the hundreds of runaways in Bridgetown and the thirty-two Maroon captives in jail in 1833,⁷¹ slave flight, in one form or another, was clearly an enduring element of Barbadian slave society from the seventeenth century to emancipation. In fact, in estimating the annual number of "clear working days" of plantation slaves (other than domestics), the knowledgeable William Dickson (1814:433) believed that an average of nineteen days were lost to plantation labor "for runaways and their pursuers." His estimate suggests the extent to which unauthorized absences or marronage occurred during the late eighteenth century.

The few available individual plantation records confirm that unauthorized absence was not uncommon (although the data cannot distinguish between slaves who aimed at permanent freedom and those with temporary goals). For example, in 1756 there were 128 slaves at Lowther plantation, and rewards were paid for at least ten captured runaways during that year; for twenty-two to twenty-four months during 1796-98 about the same number had been absent from Newton (with about 255 slaves) and Seawell (with about 182), and for most of the eighteenth century, the Codrington plantations, whose slave population averaged about 250, annually disbursed "about six or seven" reward fees for the return of fugitives; in 1725, for example, "not fewer than six" slaves were missing at one time.⁷² If only slaves in their twenties and early thirties, the age group most prone to escape (see Appendix), were to be calculated, the proportion of plantation runaways who were prime laborers would be much higher.

However, considering the duration of the slave period (and its various phases), no data exist on the numbers of slaves who absconded and who were never captured (including permanent escapees from the island), how many successfully eluded capture for appreciable lengths of time, or simply how many were defined as runaways. As late as 1825, during a period when authorities placed greater emphasis than in earlier years on collecting numerical data on slaves, the Barbados provost marshall could not provide the British colonial office with figures on the total number of arrested runaways.⁷³ In brief, there are no data on the number of Maroons and what proportion of the slave population they represented, although estimates for the early nineteenth century suggest a lower rate of flight in Barbados and other older British Caribbean sugar colonies (e.g., Antigua, St. Kitts), perhaps related to the smaller numbers of Africans in their wider slave populations at this time (Higman 1984:387; cf. Morgan & Nicholls 1998:15).

Barbadian Maroons undoubtedly were not as numerous as those in Jamaica,⁷⁴ but they were still sufficiently abundant to keep the issue alive among slaveholders in general, and to be particularly bothersome to planters in particular. As in the Caribbean in general, slaves who were "firmly determined to escape" were apparently not deterred by the severity of the punishments they could incur (Higman 1984:393).

Over the duration of the slave period, many slaves identified by whites as runaways may have had long-term goals of permanent freedom. Others may have actually considered themselves temporary absentees and lacked any intention or hope of permanent escape; rather they had short term goals such as escaping punishment or temporary relief from an oppressive master, or visiting a close kinsman, friend, or lover on another plantation. Close kin such as parents and children were frequently dispersed in different areas of Barbados. Evidence discussed earlier indicates that slaves made efforts to maintain these relationships through physical contact despite the risks involved. Moreover, slaves often had sexual relationships with slaves on other plantations, and temporary absences could have resulted from efforts to pursue these relationships. The most common pattern involved a man who left his plantation on an evening after work and travelled elsewhere to spend the night with his "wife." In most cases efforts were probably made to return to one's plantation by the following morning, although sometimes, as a well-known planter reported, "returning from a distant connection in order, without sleep, to be in due time to go through a hard day's labour" may have resulted in the slave's decision to stay longer; thus, he might have been considered a Maroon and disciplined accordingly.⁷⁵ Primary sources usually prevent distinguishing

between permanent and temporary motivations and goals, and preclude determining if slaves who whites considered as Maroons actually viewed themselves as permanent escapees or as temporary absentees.

In fact, in most cases the available information only permits conjecture as to the reasons why slaves absconded. For those who hoped for permanent escape, their grievances were almost certainly directed at particular masters and situations (rather than at an amorphously defined slave system), and probably included such broad dissatisfactions as inadequate food supplies, excessive labor demands and conditions, and harsh disciplinary measures or severe physical abuse.⁷⁶ Such conditions probably formed the background context within which particular incidents occurred that finally provoked the slave to flee. In 1780 or 1781, for example, a slave escaped "for some crime he had committed, having been turned out of his hut which his family had lived in many years"⁷⁷; Caesar fled in 1819 because, as his master phrased it, "his refractory and apparent rebellious conduct ... occasioned his being in confinement, from which he escaped."⁷⁸ Other slaves, as indicated above, may have run to be with family elsewhere or as a reaction against being sold and removed from family to a distant plantation or even off the island.⁷⁹

Although one can never be sure of the specific motivations that caused most slaves to become Maroons or absentees, it is clear that unauthorized absenteeism was a source of considerable frustration and anger to slave-masters and the plantocracy in general. Moreover, regardless of why particular individuals absconded and what they ultimately hoped to achieve, slaves were making a choice and, in so doing – regardless of the consequences – they regained a modicum of control over their lives. Slave flight was thus a characteristic feature of Barbadian slave society and to uncritically assume or categorically assert that Barbados' slaves "could not run away" because the island was so small (Greenfield 1966:53) or that maronnage did not exist because the island's geography was quite unlike such places as Hispaniola or Jamaica not only distorts the historical record but also glosses over an important dimension of slave resistance and behavior.

APPENDIX: DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS OF MAROONS

Narrative sources fail to generalize on the demographic characteristics of Barbadian Maroons, but two independently derived samples provide some idea. As a by-product of my continuing research on slave life in Barbados since the mid-1960s, I randomly collected information on 167 runaways

from 1735 to 1824 (see Table 1), but make no claim for the statistical representativeness of this "sample of convenience." Gad Heuman (1985) more systematically collected information on 368 runaways from advertisements in the *Barbados Mercury* and *The Barbadian* newspapers for the years 1805, 1810, 1815, 1819, 1824, and 1830. Heuman calculated distributions of variables as well as correlations among variables – the

Table 1. Characteristics of Barbados Maroons, 1735-1824

Characteristic	Occurrences/n	Percentage
Sex		
Male	112/185	61
Female	73/185	39
Age Group		
Man	94/173	54
Woman	54/173	31
Boy	10/173	6
Girl	15/173	9
Phenotype		
Black	126/145	87
Mulatto	19/145	13
Occupation		
Skilled, semi-skilled	34/43	79
Non-agricultural	8/43	19
Plantation field	1/43	2
Origin		
African	15/167	9
Creole	152/167	91
Place of Residence		
Town	29/84	35
Country	55/84	65
Cases by Period		
1735-1789	82/185	44
1801-1813	46/185	25
1816-1824	57/185	31

Sources: *Barbados Gazette* April 30, 1735, November 29, 1752, May 22, 30, 1753, December 19, 1761; *Barbados Mercury* April 1783-December 1784, July 1787-June 1788, April 1, June 17, 1789; *Barbados Mercury and Bridgetown Gazette* January-February 1805, January 10, 17, 24, 27, February 14, September 16, 1807, November 5, 8, 12, 1808, January-March 1816, August 30, 1817, January-March, October-December 1819, October-December 1824; *The Barbadian* (January-March, October-December 1824; SRO, Seaforth Papers, GD 46/7/7, F. Seaforth to E. Nepean, July 20, 1802 and Captain Hardy, July 7, 1803; West India Committee Library, Alleyne Letters, J.F. Alleyne to Benjamin Storey, September 24, 1801; ULL, Newton Papers 523/703, Blackman to T. Lane, August 18, 1813.

latter was not accomplished with my data – but also confronted the same problems that I did of sketchiness and incompleteness of information. There is some overlap between the sources used for the present paper and Heuman's time periods and sources, but the overlap is not great. Moreover, although Heuman's sample is much larger, it is confined to the nineteenth century while 44 percent of my cases are from the eighteenth. Heuman does not numerically break down all of the characteristics he discusses so that his data cannot be entirely presented in terms comparable to my Table. Nevertheless, these two independently-derived sets of findings, complemented by some nineteenth-century statistical materials published by Higman (1984:386-93), conveniently cross check each other and provide a firmer picture of Barbadian Maroons.

Both samples agree that males predominated, 60 percent in my sample and 63 in Heuman's (1985:98; Table 1). Males constituted about 46 to 48 percent of Barbados' wider slave population (Handler & Lange 1978:36, 67-68; Higman 1984:413). An imbalance of males over females was characteristic of other British mainland and Caribbean colonies (Higman 1984:389; Morgan & Nicholls 1998:19-20). Although Barbados conforms to the general pattern, the island's male-female ratio is lower than in other areas (cf. Morgan & Nicholls 1998:19-20, Tables 1-3), and indicates a larger proportion of female Maroons than elsewhere in British America (cf. Morgan & Nicholls 1998). Higman (1984:389) provides evidence for 1817 that although males were more numerous among Maroons in the plantation areas, females predominated in Bridgetown; he suggests that females "were more likely to work in occupations that had a potential for filtering into freedman society." Thus, the higher proportion of females may be, at least partially, explained by the preponderance of females in the wider slave population as well as the importance of Bridgetown and its opportunities (as limited as they were) for females as, for example, domestic servants, hawkers, or even prostitutes (Handler 1974:125-38; 1981).

The Barbados sources rarely give absolute ages, but slaveowner estimates for about twenty Maroons in my sample indicates that men were almost entirely in their twenties and early-to-mid thirties. Heuman found that "nearly three-fourths of all runways" were "under 30 years of age" (1985:98). Both samples are consistent with British Caribbean Maroons in general during the early nineteenth century: "young adults predominated, the mean age for creoles being about 30 years" (Higman 1984:389).

The sources rarely specify area of birth, but it is safe to assume that most Maroons during the period of both samples were Creoles – as was the wider Barbadian slave population during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries (Handler & Lange 1978:29). Only 9 percent in both

samples are identified as African (Heuman 1985:98) suggesting that Africans, in the later periods at least, did not abscond to any greater extent than Creoles.⁸⁰ In the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, when Africans were more numerous among Barbadian slaves, they were more prominent among Maroons.⁸¹

The place of residence from which most (65 percent) runaways in my sample absconded was a plantation, or a parish that is not St. Michael, Bridgetown's parish, indicating that most came from rural areas even though they may have hidden in the towns, particularly Bridgetown.

Both samples generally agree on occupation. Slaveowners were likely to mention a skill in their advertisements because it was an important descriptive identifier, and Heuman's (1985:99) analysis of ninety-two occupations showed that the "overwhelming number were skilled or semi-skilled." In my sample, occupation was specified for only forty-three runaways, and they also were mostly (79 percent) skilled or semi-skilled non-agricultural workers such as craftsmen or tradesmen (e.g., carpenter, blacksmith, mason), tailors, fishermen, shoemakers, cooks, a barber, and a butcher; the sample contains one person identified as a plantation driver. A second category (19 percent) comprises such non-agricultural jobs as porters, boatmen, domestics, and a huckster. Only one person in my sample is specifically identified as an agricultural field laborer, and field slaves also formed a small minority ("less than 5 percent") in Heuman's sample (1985:99). Although an occupational designation is lacking for the majority of runaways in both samples, agricultural laborers, i.e. members of the first and second gangs, were probably more numerous in absolute terms than the sample indicates since they formed the vast majority of Barbados' slave population. Nevertheless, both samples generally agree and suggest that skilled or semi-skilled workers of one kind or another absconded at a disproportionately higher rate than agricultural field workers (cf. Heuman 1985:97, 99).

The biggest and most visible discrepancy between the two samples is in the phenotype or "color" of the runaways. In Heuman's sample about 53 percent were "coloured" while only 13 percent were in mine. My sample suggests that mulattoes were *not* disproportionately represented while Heuman's sample forces an opposite conclusion (Heuman 1985:98). Until 1817, there were no statistics on the number of *slave* mulattoes in Barbados, but in that year, when mulattoes undoubtedly were more numerous than in earlier periods, they constituted only 15 percent of the island's slaves (Handler & Pohlmann 1984; Higman 1984:116). The discrepancy between the samples might reflect differences in the occupational data available to both samples. Heuman acquired occupational

information on a greater number of slaves, and there tended to be more "coloured" slaves among the occupational categories that constituted a larger percentage of the runaways (Heuman 1985:100). Another reason may relate to the fact that 44 percent of my total sample derives from the eighteenth century, a period when fewer mulatto slaves were in Barbados' wider slave population.

In brief, it appears that the typical or most numerous type of Maroon during the late eighteenth century and early nineteenth was a Creole black male in his twenties or early thirties who absconded from a plantation or rural area. Perhaps "colored" or mulatto slaves were disproportionately represented by the later decades of the slave period. During the period of both samples, most, probably the great majority, of Maroons absconded alone, not in groups, although pairs, e.g., parent-child, friends, occasionally occurred; group flight was probably more characteristic of African Maroons in the seventeenth century (cf. Morgan & Nicholls 1998:21). Many Maroons were skilled or semi-skilled, but since occupational data are lacking for most individuals in both samples, field slaves, who constituted the numerical majority of Barbadian slaves, probably absconded in greater numbers than the sources directly indicate. Despite the limitations of the Barbados samples, in broad age, sex, and, perhaps, occupational and phenotypic characteristics, Barbadian Maroons seem to conform to those in other areas of British America during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries (Higman 1984:386-93; Johnson 1981; Morgan 1985; Morgan & Nicholls 1998).

NOTES

1. The first version of this paper was presented in November 1983 at a Department of History seminar at the University of the West Indies, Cave Hill, Barbados; it was reproduced and distributed as "Seminar Paper No. 3: 1983-84." Considerably revised versions were presented in November 1995 at the Institute of Early American History and Culture, Williamsburg, Virginia, and in November 1996 at the Carter G. Woodson Institute, University of Virginia. The present paper was prepared while I was a Fellow-in-Residence at the Virginia Foundation for the Humanities and Public Policy, Charlottesville. For their comments on various drafts I am grateful to Douglas Chambers, Ronald Hoffman, Michael McGiffert, Woodville Marshall, Samuel Martinez, George Mentore, Joseph Miller, Sidney Mintz, Cornelia Sears, and Frederika Teute. This version of the paper has also benefited greatly from the comments of Kenneth Bilby and Philip Morgan.

2. See Hall (1764:460-67) for titles of acts relating to runaways passed between 1646 and 1655; for texts of pre-1653 acts, see Jennings (1654:20-21, 43-45, 81-83, 146-48). Laws of 1661, 1676, 1688, and 1692 reflect major concerns with runaways;

similarly the titles of 1673 and 1701 obsolete or repealed laws (Public Record Office [PRO], Colonial Office Papers [CO] 30/2, Barbados Assembly and Council, An Act for the Better Ordering and Governing of Negroes, September 27, 1661, pp. 16-26 and A Supplemental Act to a Former Act for the Better Ordering and Governing of Negroes, April 21, 1676, pp. 114-25; Hall 1764:112-21, 130-31, 478, 492). Primary manuscript and printed sources are described in Handler 1971 and 1991.

3. Escapes by servants, not infrequently off the island, were also major problems for masters during the seventeenth century, and early laws dealing with runaways often applied to both servants and slaves. Moreover, there were similarities between slave and servant escape behavior during this period, and occasionally members of each group helped the other to flee (e.g., Beckles 1985).

4. "An act for the better ordering and governing of Negroes" (PRO, CO 30/2, Barbados Assembly and Council, September 27, 1661) exists only in manuscript and was one of the earliest attempts at a comprehensive slave law. "An act concerning Negroes," passed on August 30, 1644 and later repealed (Hall 1764:450), was probably an earlier effort to systematically regulate and control slave life and status. The 1644 law probably also dealt with runaways, but there is no known copy, printed or manuscript. The earliest manuscript laws in the Public Record Office (London) commence in 1645, and the 1644 act is not published in early editions of Barbados' laws (Jennings 1654, 1656; Rawlin 1699).

5. House of Commons (HofC), London, Sessional *Papers*, *Parliamentary Papers* (PP) 25 (1826-27), Barbados Assembly and Council, 1826. An Act to Repeal Several Acts and Clauses of Acts Respecting Slaves, and for Consolidating and Bringing into One Act, the Several Laws Relating thereto, In Explanation of the Measures Adopted ... for the Melioration of the Condition of the Slave Population in ... the West Indies, pp. 205-30; Handler 1974:97-98.

6. About forty to fifty acres of the native forest still exists today at Turners Hall in the Scotland District, Barbados' sole highland area, comprising about one seventh of the island's surface.

7. Slaves probably used magic to fortify themselves and insure their security. During the 1670s, an Anglican minister observed that they place "confidence in certain figures ... the fugitives and runaways believing these dieties able to protect them in their flight, and from discovery" (Godwyn 1680:33). Although no other direct historical evidence exists that protective charms were used, their presence is likely. Magic was pervasive in early slave life and commonly functioned, as in Africa, in anxiety-provoking situations; moreover, charms were ubiquitous in West Africa (e.g., Handler 1997a, 1997b).

8. PRO, CO 30/2, Barbados Assembly and Council, An Act ... Negroes, September 27, 1661; A Supplemental Act ... Negroes, April 21, 1676.

9. PRO, Barbados Council 1654-58, Minutes, February 1654-December 1658. 2 vols. Typescript.

10. PRO, CO 30/2, Barbados Assembly and Council An Act ... Negroes, September 27, 1661. Essentially the same phrasing is repeated in 1688, see Hall 1764:120.

11. The road still exists and is frequently travelled; it passes by Welchman Hall gully, a noted tourist attraction with abundant flora.
12. HofC, *PP*, Barbados Assembly and Council, 1826, An Act to Repeal Several Acts and Clauses of Acts Respecting Slaves, clause 12.
13. Society for the Propagation of the Gospel Archives, London, Letter Books, Series A, vol. 26, W. Johnson to Secretary of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, January 14, p. 381.
14. *Barbados Mercury*, February 13, 1819.
15. E.g., *Barbados Chronicle or Caribbean Courier*, March 16-19, 1808; *Barbados Mercury*, May 31, 1783; August 28, 1784; January 1, February 2, 1787; January-December, 1808-1809; February 10, October 2, 1824; *The Barbadian*, March 16, 1824.
16. Handler 1974:146-47; Heuman 1985:107; cf. *Barbados Chronicle or Caribbean Courier*, March 12-16, 1808 for a specific case. Heuman (1985:108) also found that whites sometimes harbored runaways; from this practice he infers that whites "may have often hired runaways," or, "alternatively, that escaped slaves may have sought particular whites as employers."
17. *Barbados Mercury*, January 24, 1807.
18. Scottish Record Office (SRO), Edinburgh, Seaforth Papers, GD 46/7/7, Francis Seaforth to E. Nepean, July 20, 1802.
19. *Barbados Mercury*, April 9, 1805, February 16, 1816; cf. *Barbados Mercury*, October 11, 25, and November 22, 1783; cf. Heuman 1985:107-8.
20. *The Barbadian*, March 15, 1831.
21. PRO, CO 28/111, Lionel Smith to Stanley, October 29, 1833; cf. Boston Public Library, Ms. U. 1.2., John B. Colthurst, Journal as a Special Magistrate in the Islands of Barbados and Saint Vincent, July 1835-August 1838. Until the close of the eighteenth century, there were very few freedmen, but their population grew from approximately 2,200 in 1801 to over 3,000 in 1815; by emancipation in 1833-34 there were around 6,500. Most freedmen lived in St. Michael and were concentrated in Bridgetown rather than the rural parts of the parish, although no separate town figures are available (Handler 1974:16-20). Other Maroons did not attempt to pass as free, but simply hoped to blend anonymously with Bridgetown's wider slave population. Aside for figures for 1679-80 (Dunn 1969:9), the number of Bridgetown's slaves for much of the period of slavery is unknown. However, in 1817 the town had around 9,280 slaves and in 1834, slaves numbered about 8,500; among British Caribbean towns, only Kingston, Jamaica, had a larger number of slaves (Higman 1984:94, table 4.4).
22. PRO, CO 30/2, Barbados Assembly and Council, An Act ... Negroes, September 27, 1661; CO 1/22, no. 55, A Treaty between His Excellency William Lord Willoughby ... and Several Chief Captains of the Island of St. Vincent, March 23, 1668; Hall 1764:120. The 1661 act also offered a reward to slaves who voluntarily captured absenteees of more than one year; this provision was not renewed in the 1688 slave act.

23. PRO, CO 30/2, Barbados Assembly and Council, A Supplemental Act ... Negroes, April 21, 1676; Hall 1764:130-31. Initially passed in 1676, the death penalty was inadvertently repealed in 1688. After the discovery of a large-scale revolt conspiracy, however, and because slaves continued to abscond "and by their long absence ... become desperate, and daily plot and commit felonies and other enormities" the provision was renewed in 1692 and not repealed until 1819 (Hall 1764:130-31; Dwarris 1827:13; cf. Handler 1982).

24. PRO, *Calendar of State Papers, Colonial Series, America and the West Indies (CSPCS)*, 1702, 20, Barbados Council, Minutes, October 27, pp. 691-92. Early Barbados Council minutes, published in the *CSPCS*, record slave executions, but the reasons for the executions are rarely stated. When running away is specified, the minutes usually omit the escape period. However, it can be conjectured that, as in the above-cited case, executions applied to Maroons who had been absent for considerable periods (e.g., PRO, *CSPCS*, 1684, 11, Barbados Council Minutes, December 9, p. 747; 1700, 18, Barbados Council Minutes, August 6, pp. 465-67; 1701, 19, Barbados Council Minutes, September 2, pp. 737-38).

25. HofC, *PP*, Accounts and Papers 34, no 746, 1791, Minutes of the Evidence Taken before a Committee of the House of Commons ... Examination of Witnesses Respecting the African Slave Trade, Testimony by Captain Cook, pp. 199-205.

26. *Barbados Mercury*, July 19, November 8, 1783; October 13, 1787; February 6, 1816; January 6, 1824.

27. *Barbados Mercury*, April 19, July 19, October 11, 25, 1783; March 3, November 6, 1784; August 28, 1787; May 31, June 6, 17, 1788; January 1, February 5, March 2, 1805; January 23, 30, 1816; January 31, February 2, 13, 23, 27, October 2, November 20, 1819; *The Barbadian*, March 16, October 1, November 12, 1824.

These findings are close to those Heuman (1985:103-4) independently derived in his study of nineteenth-century runaways. He classified absence durations into "short (under two weeks), medium (two weeks to three months), and long (over three months)." The majority (65 percent) were absent for under two weeks, suggesting that they were only temporary absentees and "intended to return." In correlating length of absence with several variables, Heuman found that males were "heavily represented ... in the medium and long categories," reflecting, he suggests, an emphasis on their seeking anonymity within the freedman community in town or escaping abroad; females, on the other hand, "may have escaped more often for relatively short periods to visit family or friends." About 35 percent of the runaways had been absent two weeks to three months, while 8 percent had escaped for at least three months. In fact, Heuman (1985:104) suggests that "slaves appearing in the [newspaper] advertisements were probably away a minimum of two months and perhaps longer." Heuman (1985:102-3) also discovered that the greatest incidence of absenteeism occurred during July and August. His explanation for this pattern, "at least for plantation slaves," involves several factors relating to the agricultural cycle and labor needs.

28. University of London Library (ULL), Newton Papers 523/110, 523/111, 523/122, 523/123, daily worklogs of the Newton and Seawell plantations 1796-97 and 1798.

29. West India Committee Library, London, Alleyne Letters, John F. Alleyne to Benjamin Storey, September 24, 1801.
30. ULL, Newton Papers 523/709, R. Haynes to T. Lane, October 21, 1813.
31. *Barbados Mercury* January 23, 1816.
32. PRO, *CSPCS*, 1703, no. 21, Barbados Attorney General to Council for Trade, pp. 754-55; see also Gordon 1719.
33. *Barbados Mercury*, August 30, 1783; January 10, 1784; April 1, 1788; February 12, 1805; November 9, 1819.
34. PRO, CO 1/22, no. 55, A Treaty between His Excellency William Lord Willoughby ... and Several Chief Captains of the Island of St. Vincent, March 23, 1668.
35. PRO, CO 1/36, no. 20, Jonathan Atkins, An Account of His Majesty's Island of Barbadoes and the Government Thereof, February 1676.
36. PRO, *CSPCS*, 1675-76, 9, William Stapleton, Answers to Queries of Lords of Trade and Plantations, November 22, 1676, pp. 497-502.
37. PRO, *CSPCS*, 1706-8, 23, Mitford Crowe to Council of Trade and Plantations, November 5, 1707, pp. 579-81; Douglass 1755, I:132.
38. PRO, *CSPCS*, 1717-18, 30, J. Graggs to Council of Trade and Plantations, November 17, 1718, p. 394; *CSPCS*, 1696-97, 15, Memorial of the Agents for Barbados to Council of Trade and Plantations, July 10, 1697, pp. 544-45.
39. PRO, *CSPCS*, 1717-18, 30, "List of Thirty-One Negroes," November 27, 1718, p. 396.
40. PRO, *CSPCS*, 1708-09, 24, Rowland Tryon to [William Popple?], May 25, 1709, pp. 318-19. See also *CSPCS* 1717-18, 30, J. Graggs to Council of Trade and Plantations, November 17, 1718, p. 394; Gordon 1719.
41. PRO, *CSPCS*, 1722-23, 33, Samuel Cox to Council of Trade and Plantations, February 9, 1722, pp. 16-18; also Hall 1764:283.
42. PRO, *CSPCS*, 1724-25, 34, Henry Worsley to Duke of Newcastle, October 2, 1725, pp. 449-50; cf. Pitman 1917:293.
43. *Barbados Mercury*, January 25, 1788.
44. Rawlin 1699:32; Hall 1764:35-42, 116, 172, 198; PRO, CO 30/2 Barbados Assembly and Council, An Act ... Negroes, September 27, 1661.
45. *Barbados Mercury*, February 2, 1819.
46. SRO, Seaforth Papers, GD 46/7/7, Francis Seaforth to E. Nepean, July 20, 1802.
47. SRO, Seaforth Papers, GD 46/7/7, Francis Seaforth to Captain Hardy, July 7, 1803.
48. *Barbados Mercury*, November 20, 1819; January 19, 1805.

49. *Barbados Chronicle or Caribbean Courier*, March 12-16, 1808.
50. ULL, Newton Papers 523/703, Blackman to T. Lane, August 18, 1813; 523/709, R. Haynes to T. Lane, October 21, 1813.
51. Cf. Bennett 1958:27. "By good experience it is well known that many ... slaves are worthy of great trust and confidence," wrote the Barbados legislature in 1697 when it passed a militia act allowing for the arming of slaves in contingency situations (Hall 1764:138-55); similar provisions respecting slaves "worthy of great trust and confidence," were enacted in earlier and later years (Handler 1984). A decree by the Barbados governor in 1666 appears to have been the earliest provision for the arming of slaves in emergencies (Handler 1984:8); this provision also appears to have been the earliest of its kind in the British Caribbean or mainland colonies (see Voelz 1993:23-32).
52. *Barbados Mercury*, January 8, 1805; also *Barbados Mercury*, January 23, 1816; October 12, 1819.
53. PRO, CO 30/2, Barbados Assembly and Council, An Act ... Negroes, September 27, 1661; HofC, PP 25, Barbados Assembly and Council, 1826, An Act to Repeal Several Acts and Clauses of Acts Respecting Slaves, clause 57; Hall 1764:112-21.
54. PRO, CO 30/2, Barbados Assembly and Council, An Act ... Negroes, September 27, 1661; CO 30/2 A Supplement Act ... Negroes, April 21, 1676; Hall 1764:114.
55. PRO, Barbados Council, Minutes 1654-58, September 3, 1657; also November 6, 1655 and September 3, 1657. Referring to the late 1640s, Ligon (1657:105) wrote that bloodhounds were the only "useful" dogs in Barbados because they "guide us to the runaway Negres, who ... harbour themselves in woods and caves." In the well-known map of Barbados, published in Ligon's book, a European on horseback is depicted chasing two Maroons (Figure 1).
56. PRO, CO 30/2, Barbados Assembly and Council, An Act ... Negroes, September 21, 1661; HofC PP 25, Barbados Assembly and Council, 1826, An Act to Repeal Several Acts and Clauses of Acts Respecting Slaves, clause 12; Hall 1764:120, 286-87.
57. SRO, Seaforth Papers, GD 46/7/7, Francis Seaforth to E. Nepean, July 20, 1802; Rolph 1836:29.
58. Hall 1764:115, 323-25; PRO, CO 30/2, Barbados Assembly and Council, An Act ... Negroes, September 21, 1661; CO 30/20, no. 351, An Act to Repeal Part of an Act Called an Act for the Governing of Negroes and for Building and Regulation a New Cage, December 2, 1817; HofC; PP 25, Barbados Assembly and Council, 1826, An Act to Repeal Several Acts and Clauses of Acts Respecting Slaves, clauses 13-15; PP 28, Report 353, J. Walton to Colonel Gibbons, November 30, 1825.
59. West India Committee Library, Alleyne Letters, John F. Alleyne to Benjamin Storey, September 24, 1801; British Library, London, Lowther Plantation, Additional Mss. 43507, fols. 1-5, The Barbadoes Plantation-Accompts. Commencing January 1st 1756 and Ending December 31, 1756; ULL, Newton Papers 523/115, Journal, Seawell Plantation, January 1-December 31, 1797; Bennett 1958:4.

60. HofC, *PP* 28, Report 353, J. Walton to Colonel Gibbons, November 30, 1825.
61. Unless otherwise specified, materials on the provost marshal's office derive from the following: Jennings 1654:43-45, 82, 146-48; Hall 1764:114, 467; Dwarris 1827:57, 108-10; PRO, CO 30/2, Barbados Assembly and Council, An Act ... Negroes, September 21, 1661; CO 30/20, no. 351, An Act to Repeal Part ... Cage, December 2, 1817; Hof C, *PP* 28, Report 353, letter J. Walton to Colonel Gibbons, November 30, 1825; Barbados Assembly and Council, 1826, *PP* 25, An Act to Repeal Several Acts and Clauses of Acts Respecting Slaves, clauses 13-15.
62. PRO, CO 30/21, no. 521, An Act to Authorize the Confining of Slaves in the Slave Prison in Speightstown, October 14, 1828.
63. Hall 1764:115; PRO, *CSPCS* 1685-88, 12, Barbados Council, Minutes, October 30, 1688, p. 616.
64. PRO, CO 31/47, [A Petition] of the Inhabitants and Merchants of Bridgetown, September 9, 1817; CO 30/20, no. 351, An Act to Repeal Part ... Cage, December 2, 1817; cf. Shilstone 1933. The new cage's exterior or interior dimensions are not mentioned, but for the first time it was specified that males and females should be placed in separate compartments with no more than eleven of each sex being confined at one time; if more than eleven were in custody, those in the cage the longest were to be removed to the "common gaol." These provisions were continued in the "slave consolidation act" which also went into greater detail than ever before on reforming the confinement and release procedures for Maroons.
65. In 1708, for example, a slave was to receive forty lashes if he helped another remove the iron collars and leg fetters often put on captured runaways. A 1731 law imposed on slaves who hid runaways, as well the runaways they hid, twenty-one lashes for the first offense, thirty-nine for the second, and thirty-nine for the third which also brought branding an R (for "runaway" on the "right cheek with a hot iron"; for a comparable offense in later years the slave was to receive a maximum of thirty-nine lashes (Baskett 1732:223; Hall 1764:286-87; HofC, *PP* 25, Barbados Assembly and Council, 1826, An Act to Repeal Several Acts and Clauses of Acts Respecting Slaves, clause 55). Branding was common for serious offenses by the mid-seventeenth century (Handler 1967:66-67), but it does not seem to have been legislated as a punishment for repeated offenders until 1731 (Hall 1764:286-87). Branding appears to have virtually disappeared by the 1760s (Minutes of the Evidence Taken Before a Committee of the House of Commons ... for the Abolition of the Slave Trade 1790, Testimonies by Robert B. Nicholls and Thomas G. Rees, p. 336), and, according to Dickson (1789: 122, 124), it was non-existent in the 1770s and early 1780s. The 1731 law was formally repealed by the 1826 "slave consolidation act," wherein branding is not even mentioned.
66. Baskett 1732:222-23, HofC, *PP* 30, Minutes of the Evidence Taken Before a Committee of the House of Commons ... for the Abolition of the Slave Trade 1790, Testimonies by Robert B. Nicholls and Thomas G. Rees, pp. 325-60; pp. 247-64.
67. HofC, *PP* 25, Barbados Assembly and Council, 1826, An Act to Repeal Several Acts and Clauses of Acts Respecting Slaves, clause 47.

68. PRO, CO 30/2, Barbados Assembly and Council, An Act ... Negroes, September 27, 1661; Hall 1764:120.
69. There are only meagre data on resistance to arrest. In 1806, Richard Wyvill, a British army officer, observed the arrest of a runaway who "was brought in with his hands tied behind him"; the man tore away from his captors and "leaped over the railing of the bridge and was smothered in the mud" (Handler 1975:25). Given the severity of punishments one can speculate that resistance to arrest assumed several forms, but directly attacking whites involved the ultimate risk. In one case, a group of slaves accosted and murdered a slave who had been sent out to retrieve a runaway, although there may have been other motives involved in this murder (*Barbados Mercury*, January 23, 1816).
70. The white population averaged about 20 percent of the island's population during the late eighteenth century and about 17 percent in the pre-emancipation decades of the nineteenth (Handler 1974:18-19).
71. *The Barbadian*, May 11, 1833; PRO, CO 28/111, Lionel Smith to Stanley, November 26, 1833.
72. British Library, Additional Mss. 43507, fols. 1-5, Lowther Plantation, the Barbadoes Plantation-Accompts, 1756; ULL, Newton Papers 523/110, 111, 122, 123, daily worklogs of the Newton and Seawell plantations 1796-97; 523/288, 292 "Report on the Negroes," Newton Plantation, July 2, 1796 and Seawell Plantation, July 16, 1796; Bennett 1958:26.
73. HofC, PP 28, Report 353, J. Walton to Colonel Gibbons, November 30, 1825; cf. Heuman 1985.
74. Dickson (1789:124) opined that although Jamaica had about three times as many slaves as Barbados, at least ten times as many runaways were advertised in one Jamaican newspaper as in Barbados' two newspapers in the 1770s and 1780s.
75. HofC, PP 26, Queries from ... Governor Parry, Answered by a Planter of 1068 acres [Joshua Steele], pp. 24-36; also PP 26, Report of the Lords of the Committee of Council ... Concerning the Present State of the Trade of Africa, John Braithwaite Replies to Queries, part 3; ULL, Newton Papers 523/381-1, S. Wood to T. Lane, October 19, 1798.
76. E.g., *Barbados Gazette*, November 29, 1752; HofC, PP 30, Minutes of the Evidence Taken Before a Committee of the House of Commons ... for the Abolition of the Slave Trade, Testimonies by Robert B. Nicholls and Thomas G. Rees, p. 339 and p. 249; ULL, Newton Papers, 523/423, S. Wood to T. Lane, October 21, 1800; Yearwood 1949.
77. HofC, PP, 34, no. 746, Minutes of the Evidence Taken Before a Committee of the House of Commons ... Respecting the African Slave Trade, Testimony by Captain Cook, p. 204.
78. *Barbados Mercury*, January 30, 1819.
79. E.g., *Barbados Mercury* October 5, 1783; *The Barbadian*, October 1, 1824.

80. Most Africans in my sample were identified with one form or another of tooth mutilation/modification, such as filing or chipping, or body scarification, i.e. "country marks." These practices of African origin were also sometimes present in the wider Barbadian slave population, but persons so marked were invariably of African birth – neither dental mutilation/modification nor body scarification took place in Barbados (or most other New World areas for that matter). One reason why these practices were not continued in the New World may relate to marronage and avoidance of behavior which could have produced permanent identification marks (Handler, Corruccini & Mutaw 1982; Handler 1994).

81. Higman (1984:388), however, indicates that Africans in Bridgetown's urban environment absconded at a disproportionately higher rate than those in the rural areas. He reports that in 1817 (the only year for which he has statistical data), while Africans comprised about 18 percent of Bridgetown's slaves, they constituted about 21 percent of the town slaves identified as "absent" by their owners.

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THE MASKING OF HISTORY: POPULAR IMAGES OF THE NATION ON A DOMINICAN SUGAR PLANTATION

At no moment in my life have I ever felt as though I were an American.

(Toni Morrison, quoted in Hacker 1988:41)

North American views of the past are divided asymmetrically along lines of race, class, and gender. In the United States, silence has conventionally surrounded the roles played by Africans and their descendants in shaping American society. The invisibility of African-Americans in mainstream images of history has in turn nourished the attitude, found not only among non-blacks, that African-Americans are somehow less American than Euro-Americans.

Popular concepts of history in another part of the Americas – the racially-mixed Caribbean nation of the Dominican Republic – parallel the racialized logic of U.S. history, even as relations between “darker” and “lighter” people there seem to differ greatly from the United States. In what follows, I examine popular images that tend to deny the historical role played by Africans and their descendants in forging the Dominican nation. I base my essay largely on information that emerged from my twelve months of ethnographic fieldwork among the population of a company compound for agricultural workers (*batey*) on the Dominican Republic’s southeastern sugar belt.¹

The sugar belt may be likened to an alien (and alienating) environment within the Dominican nation. In the *batey* where I did my fieldwork, nearly everyone sees him/herself as being in a sense uprooted or out of place. Not only does a large segment of the yearly population reside there only for the sugarcane harvest or for part of it. Even people born there and residents who have lived in the *batey* for decades speak of the plantation

as little more than a stopping point on their way to a place where they would rather live. The sugar belt's difference from the rest of the Dominican Republic relates also to it being populated largely by people who trace their origins to neighboring Caribbean territories. Ethnic difference there, moreover, corresponds to a gradient of power. Within the sugar company job hierarchy, non-Dominicans have in the past held both the commanding heights (the North American bosses of the 1880s to the late 1950s) and the lowest positions (as seasonal migrant cane workers from neighboring Haiti and, earlier, from nearby Caribbean islands). Today, the subordination of these Haitian migrant workers is so severe as to be characterized by international human rights observers as a "new system of slavery."² To boot, the *bateyes* have long been among the poorest places in the Dominican Republic, as well as economic enclaves, where production and consumption are oriented overwhelmingly toward outside markets. Deterritoriality, ethnic division, harsh exploitation, and poverty add up to a situation where heterodox perspectives on the Dominican nation might commonly be expected to find expression, even if only covertly. By my observation, *batey* residents do give heterodox interpretations to national symbols and myths, but not in ways that directly overturn official history.

These plantation residents, like many other peoples on the social margins of nation-states, hold onto and transmit knowledge about the past less often in the form of distinctive narratives than via "the everyday critical, lively intelligence which surrounds status, activities, gestures, and speech" (Cohen 1989:9). Among the plantation residents with whom I did fieldwork, images of the country's origins are not held apart in a category called "history" but are encoded in everyday talk about labor and national electoral politics, as well as in the form of proverbs, racial categories, and more explicit statements about national identity.

More surprisingly, these images sooner conform to than contest officially-approved versions of history, that glorify the Spaniard, sanctify the Native American, ignore the African, and demonize the Haitian. In various contexts, Haitian and Dominican residents express agreement that the Dominican Republic is a white, Hispanic nation, and in this way participate in perpetuating a vision of the past that denies Africans and their descendants any claim to having had a hand in the nation's founding. It may be said that, in the Dominican Republic, a national identity that emphasizes the Spanish roots of Dominicanity coexists with a culture that preserves many important *African*-derived beliefs and practices.³ Scholars have remarked that blackness is an attribute that Dominicans commonly associate not with themselves but with the people of Haiti, their poorer

neighbors to the west. Several students of Dominican society see racism and anti-Haitianism as mutually-reinforcing bodies of prejudice.⁴ Dominican popular discourse equates a *racial* distinction, between black and non-black, with the *political* and *cultural* boundary that defines the Dominican and Haitian peoples. Dominicans may be said to conflate race and nation, by identifying themselves not as "white" but as "non-black," and Haitians as "black." Official history and national identity thus dovetail with anti-black/anti-indigene racial conventions, to place "darker" citizens not just disproportionately at the bottom of the social ladder but at the margins of constructs of cultural citizenship that give pride of place to "lighter-skinned" citizens.

These widely-accepted conventions about race and Dominican national identity are even so given unexpected meaning by Haitian *batey* residents. Contrasts and ambiguities enter into play as the Dominican national founding myth is assimilated into local contexts of meaning. Residents of Haitian ancestry reconcile that myth with their own, oppositional identities, as plantation workers and members of an oppressed ethnic group. While seemingly accepting the content of official history, Haitian residents invert its intended interpretation. They "read" the "facts" of this history in ways that celebrate rather than condemn Haitian immigration and the continuing Haitian presence on Dominican soil. It is therefore less the events of the past than the meaning of those events that is thrown open for debate. An official history formulated to portray Haitians as inassimilable intruders is interpreted by Haitian residents to provide evidence instead that the labor of Haitian immigrants has been essential to Dominican livelihoods and well-being. Hegemonic concepts of national identity are thus cast in a new light even as those concepts' historical premise – that Santo Domingo was originally (and still is, in essence) a purely Spanish nation – is left unquestioned. By turning the meaning of official history on its head, Haitian residents effect a symbolic transvaluation, that may be likened to what Karl Reisman (1970:131) has called "masking":

Because they do not express themselves directly nor wish to reveal differences from others, [Afro-Caribbean] people "take on" forms from the immediate environment as a mask behind which, or through which, alternate meanings are conveyed. Or they may transform the meanings of forms which are forced on them.

At issue are scholarly understandings of how popular, oppositional historical consciousness is formed and expressed, among poor and marginalized rural proletarians such as live in Yerba Buena. The opposition of a "vernacular" to an "official" culture and historical consciousness (Bod-

nar 1992) seems fully justified in the case at hand, by the cultural and socioeconomic chasm that separates Dominican elites and sugarcane workers, especially those of Haitian ancestry.⁵ This said, the case at hand raises thorny questions about the relationship between vernacular and official histories. Do vernacular and official knowledge about the past, and modes of preserving that knowledge, always oppose each other, in every important way, or is there at times significant overlap in style and/or content between the two? If there is overlap, does vernacular history ever get so laden down with official historical baggage that it ceases to represent the priorities and perspectives of common people, and how can we determine when it has passed that point and become terminally compromised?

Even more broadly, the case at hand addresses the always incomplete and contested nature of hegemony in the Caribbean.⁶ The Dominican national founding myth makes its influence felt less by suppressing heterodox understandings than by engaging diverse vernacular subjectivities in implicit dialogue. Hegemony is characterized in this case less by closure of interpretation than by a selective opening of discourse to all interpretations that recognize the same core set of (officially-disseminated) historical "facts." At the same time, dominant ideology cannot be said to encompass the whole of plantation residents' knowledge about the past. Recognizing this, as I examine how images of the nation find expression in one small rural proletarian settlement, I seek to substantiate a concept of hegemony that goes "beyond a simple notion of a dominant ideology imposed on the masses," and to question concepts of counter-hegemony as a space entirely "outside of structures of power" (Martin 1993:439-40).

YERBA BUENA: IMMIGRATION AND ETHNICITY ON A DOMINICAN SUGAR ESTATE

"Yerba Buena" is a *batey* on a state-owned sugar plantation, "Ingenio Santa Ana."⁷ Founded in 1882, Santa Ana was among the first estates in the country to have been established around a modern "central factory" sugar mill. The industry's demand for harvest labor at first attracted displaced peasants to sugarcane work. Yet, by the 1890s, Dominican sugar barons had begun to recruit cheaper and more easily-disciplined seasonal laborers from other Caribbean islands (Hoetink 1988). Since that time, employing seasonal immigrants as cane workers has kept a lid on wages, and made possible a level of control over labor that might have been

difficult to maintain with Dominican nationals (Murphy 1991:33-73). Among the second- and third-generation descendants of Afro-Caribbean immigrants, the Haitians have encountered the most tenacious resistance to being accepted as Dominicans (Castillo & Murphy 1987:63-64; Dore Cabral 1987:62).

The yearly sojourn of hundreds of Haitian seasonal workers tends to preserve the line between *dominicano* and *haitiano* as the most salient ethnic distinction in Yerba Buena. *Dominicanos* are ethnic Dominicans, people whose parents and grandparents, at least, were all born in the Dominican Republic. *Haitianos* are people born in Haiti and their children born in the Dominican Republic. It follows that many of the people whom *batey* residents refer to as *haitianos* are Haitian-Dominicans, and are by right of birth Dominican citizens. (I therefore use the English-language term "Haitians" here only in reference to Haitian nationals.)

The sugar company occupational hierarchy is stratified by ethnic background, nationality, and residence status. Seasonal migrants from Haiti (termed *congoses* or *braceros*) stand at the very bottom, and carry out the worst-paid and most physically-debilitating labor, as day laborers and jobbers in the cane fields. The *braceros* are singled out for the most coercive labor practices. Company bosses may, for example, deny the *braceros* the customary right to a weekly day of rest, by obligating them to leave their quarters on Sunday mornings to gather any cane that they may have left lying in the fields the day before. Higher rungs on the job ladder are held, in ascending order, by Haitian nationals who reside permanently in the Dominican Republic (popularly called *viejos*), second- and third-generation Haitian immigrants, people of mixed ethnic ancestry, and *dominicanos* (Báez Evertsz 1986:199-207; Moya Pons 1986:36-55; Murphy 1986:385-424, 431-35).

Ties of reciprocal aid between households, cooperation at work and at leisure, and alliance through conjugal union, all bridge the ethnic divide, and seem to have blunted the animosity against everything Haitian expressed by *dominicanos* in non-sugar-producing areas of the country. Yet, even though ethnic animosities remain for the most part unspoken, it would be a mistake to think that there are no significant tensions between *haitianos* and *dominicanos* in Yerba Buena. Haitians avoid open conflict with *dominicanos* largely by knowing their place in *batey* society, and keeping to it. For example, on Saturday and Sunday nights, Haitian men avoid the barroom/dance hall at La Yagüita, the tavern and brothel at the center of the *batey*. Even *viejos* who have lived in the *batey* for years say that they do not like the company of drunken *dominicanos*, and fear getting into a fight there. *Dominicanos* show even less respect toward the

braceros, who are mostly strangers to them. Toward the *braceros* they may feel free to direct such hostile epithets as *haitiano del diablo* (God-damn Haitian). Beyond the *batey*, Haitians are made aware that their proper place is on the sugar estates, rather than in the city or in other areas of the country where they might gain access to mainstream economic opportunities. During the sugarcane harvest, both *viejos* and *braceros* leave company grounds with some trepidation, knowing that they may at any point be detained and sent back to their *batey* by a company security guard or an officer of the National Police.

Besides the ridiculed, abused *bracero*, a few topics consistently elicit negative ethnic stereotypes, but this nearly always in conversations among people of the same ethnicity. *Haitianos* and *dominicanos* alike tend to explain the sugar industry's unequal ethnic division of labor in terms of the "indecent" and other negative attributes of the people of the other ethnic group. In a twist of logic akin to "blaming the victim," the apparent willingness of the Haitian *bracero* to submit to bad conditions on the sugar estates may be seen by *dominicanos* as evidence of the degraded character of the Haitian people themselves. A company boss explained, "The people in Haiti are nothing more than animals. Everyone knows that. Just look at the way they live here." Opinions like this may be voiced by *dominicanos* in response to any number of upsetting encounters with or unflattering anecdotes about *haitianos*.

Out of earshot of *dominicanos* – during rest breaks in the cane fields, and when they gather around their overcrowded barracks after work – *haitianos*, too, seemingly never tire of explaining the industry's division of labor in terms that imply their own superiority. When they complain, for example, that the *braceros* are treated "worse than dogs," *haitianos* direct blame not at "capitalists" or "management" but at *dominicanos*. As *haitianos* explain, it is they and not the *dominicanos* who do the heaviest and most badly-paid jobs, not just because they are poorer than the *dominicanos*, but also because the *dominicanos* are incapable of the work, out of laziness, feebleness, dishonesty, and lack of pride. In the same disdainful spirit, *haitianos* say that it is they who are "the real owners of the country," because the entirety of the sugar industry depends on their labor, and the jobs of tens of thousands of *dominicanos* depend in turn on sugar.

National politics is another topic of conversation in which ethnic stereotypes consistently emerge. During my time in Yerba Buena, the presidential candidacy of José Francisco Peña Gómez, a prominent politician of mixed Dominican and Haitian ancestry, was often the focus of animated discussion.⁸ People everywhere in the country refer to Peña as the

haitiano or the *prieto*, because of his dark skin color and African facial features. In Yerba Buena, men and women who otherwise said little about politics felt drawn to voice opinions in favor of or against Peña's candidacy. *Dominicanos*, for the most part, made Peña a scapegoat. A widespread rumor had it that company payroll money had been diverted to put on a huge public rally for him, setting off a long and distressing series of delays in the company pay schedule. Crude jokes and outlandish stories depicted Peña as a megalomaniac, glutton, womanizer, and money-grubber. A woman of Haitian parentage, who in the presence of strangers would pass as a *dominicana*, echoed the opinion of many when she remarked that Peña was "too black and ugly to be president." A common opinion held that Peña could only win a popular election through a massive turnout of Haitians fraudulently registered to vote. According to some *dominicanos*, a Peña victory would be dangerous, because it would make the *haitianos* think that they had power. There is no doubt that antipathy toward Peña stemmed in part from the unpopularity of his party at the time. By 1986, the nation's standard of living had undergone a series of severe declines under eight years of PRD rule. Yet the expression of that animosity in anti-black, anti-Haitian terms belied the community's facade of ethnic harmony.

On those occasions when *batey* residents make conscious reference to past events and situations, history is usually cast in the same conflictive mold as talk about work and national politics. Of the two groups, *haitianos* are most explicit in rationalizing their perceptions and aspirations in historical terms. Some *haitianos*, especially among those born in Haiti, would not necessarily deny that they want to take over the Dominican Republic. Even though few are registered to vote, many *haitianos* see Peña as a hero, "one of our own," a leader who will support Haitians' aspirations for betterment or at least turn a blind eye to the expansion of their activities beyond what *dominicanos* consider to be Haitians' proper place, i.e., doing the manual labor that *dominicanos* refuse, on farms, ranches, and construction sites. Those with grander illusions speak of Peña as the embodiment of Haiti's historical destiny to unite the island of Hispaniola under one state. They look to the twenty-two-year-long Haitian government of Spanish Santo Domingo, from 1822 to 1844, as the moment that defined the two countries' relationship. Rumor in the Haitian community has it that Peña, as president, would either unite Haiti and the Dominican Republic or set aside a portion of Dominican territory for Haitian settlement.

Dominicanos for the most part do not refer explicitly to history in justifying their views that Peña, as an *haitiano*, is untrustworthy, and that

stricter measures are necessary to exclude Haitians from the electoral process. That the local area has been in Dominican hands for as long as any living person can remember is proof enough for them of who should be in charge. A few, mostly men beyond their youth, avidly recount stories about Haitian atrocities during the Haitian Revolution and the battles for Dominican independence in the mid-nineteenth century. Knowledge of these Haitian misdeeds is well over a century old, and has been propagated aggressively since the late 1930s by the information agencies of the Trujillo dictatorship (1930 to 1961) and subsequent regimes.

Yet, even if *batey* residents do *not* often consciously refer to history in relation to matters of everyday importance, they do frequently allude to images and understandings relating to the racial composition of Dominican society, in discussing *batey* social relations. These images of the nation and its people are inextricably linked with history, as it concerns the founding and settlement of Santo Domingo/Dominican Republic. *Batey* residents thereby adopt concepts with wide currency elsewhere in the country, and become participants in a national discourse on Dominican identity.

RACE, COLOR, AND NATION

Besides distinguishing people by ethnic background and occupational status, Yerba Buenans are also highly conscious of color. There, as in the rest of the Dominican Republic and the Hispanic Caribbean, people do not identify themselves simply as black or white. Rather, Dominicans recognize a range of "color" categories in between "white" and "black."⁹ Perhaps more importantly, the line between white and non-white is not as symbolically charged for Dominicans as it is for North Americans. Whereas in the United States a white person could never be believed to have a full sibling who was non-white, Dominicans accept that the same two parents may together have both white and non-white offspring. Alongside their more frank acknowledgment of racial mixture, Dominicans are much more open than North Americans in identifying people on the basis of color and other physical attributes. The large number of common terms that specify gradations of skin color, hair form, and facial features, reflects the candor with which Dominicans speak of racial difference (Guzmán 1974).

This candor tends to diminish anxiety in relations between white, black, and mulatto, but it also permits much more blatant expressions of prejudice than would be tolerated in the United States today. In Yerba Buena, one young mulatto, for example, expressed dismay at the policy of racial segregation that he had seen dramatized in a television biography of Martin

Luther King, but in almost the very next breath he did not hesitate to add that he thought there were "too many blacks" in the eastern part of the Dominican Republic, because employment in the sugar industry had brought many Haitians and other Afro-Caribbean islanders to settle there. More generally, the terms used to distinguish people on the basis of color are not flattering to those of darker complexion. Hair type, for example, is a conspicuous and unusually manipulable factor of color classification. "Bad" or "hard hair" is tightly-curled, like the hair of a black African; "good" or "soft hair" is straight or lightly-curled, like the hair of a white European.

Dominican racism consists of more than negative esthetic judgments about blackness. Few, if any, formal barriers limit social mobility on the basis of color (Mejía-Ricart 1982:39). Even so, families at the lighter end of the somatic spectrum dominate commerce and government. And the darker a Dominican is, the more likely s/he is to be poor, undernourished, badly housed, and deprived of formal education. A link between racial and class prejudice is evident in the commonly expressed opinion that "money whitens," and in the custom of referring to even dark-skinned elites as "blancos" (Mejía-Ricart 1982:40).

Many more examples could be provided of racially-prejudicial popular discourse. Dominican proverbs and humor, for example, are rich inventories of racial/class prejudice (Cordero 1975). Suffice it to say that everyday verbal imagery and popular opinions project a variety of subtly and not-so-subtly racist messages.

A particular image of the nation's origins, embedded in popular discourse, helps explain why racist attitudes are quietly tolerated, and even at times actively voiced, by a mostly African-American people. Popular phraseology implies that people of African ancestry are historically latecomers to Dominican society. In Yerba Buena, as in cities and towns across the Dominican Republic, popular discourse defines blackness as something exotic to Dominican society (Charles 1992:150-51). Yerba Buena, for example, avoid the term *negro* (black), and instead generally say *indio* as a euphemism for "black" or "mulatto." The national identity card of my field assistant, a man as black in appearance as any African, identified his race as *indio*.¹⁰ Seemingly, few *dominicanos* in Yerba Buena think that they are in any meaningful way Amerindian. Yet only in reference to an *haitiano* or to a second- or third-generation immigrant from the Lesser Antilles is it ever regarded as proper to call a stranger, *negro*. To call a fellow *dominicano* a *negro* may be taken as an insult (except, of course, in an endearingly possessive way among intimate family members, as when spouses call each other, *mi negro/a*). In keeping with this attitude,

"Dominicans often depict their 'own' Negroes ... as being racially less 'pure' and therefore esthetically more attractive than those from Cuba, Haiti, or the Virgin Islands" (Hoetink 1970:117). Popular discourse categorizes no *dominicano* as "black" (read "purely African") and accords every *dominicano* a greater or lesser measure of European blood and hence a higher status with regard to race than the black immigrant from Haiti.

Haitianos, by contrast, may unhesitatingly identify themselves as "black," but at times do so in ways that seem to confirm that their blackness distinguishes them from *dominicanos*: "What good would it do to deny being Haitian," a Yerba Buena woman asked me, "if by my face people recognize me as Haitian? I am black, and cannot deny [being Haitian]." Asserting their own blackness apparently leads few *haitianos* to ask openly whether *dominicanos* might not be black, too. Rather, *haitianos* seem tacitly to accept that race is an essential difference between themselves and *dominicanos*.

With this in mind, it may seem odd that a popular Dominican saying has it that "If you scratch a Dominican, Haitian blood will come out." This saying generally meets with understanding laughter in Yerba Buena, revealing as it does the tangled roots of the Haitian and Dominican nations. At the risk of making too much of one saying, it can readily be seen that this saying identifies Haitian blood with a shameful ancestry – the evidence of which lies "beneath the skin" and should properly remain out of sight and hidden from public knowledge – and thus expresses an ambivalence, bordering on regret, about mixture of the Haitian and Dominican peoples. Another, less commonly-heard phrase makes ambivalence toward the nation's African heritage more clear. It holds that "He who is dark had better speak [Spanish] clearly" (*El que sea prieto que hable claro*), speak clearly, that is, or be surmised to be Haitian. This bit of folk wisdom links a racial attribute – a strongly African appearance – with a cultural marker – not being fluent in Spanish. It is hardly surprising that the one time that I recall hearing this said in a practical context was by a Dominican National Police officer as he boarded a bus to check for undocumented Haitians among the passengers. These sayings subvert the euphemistic approach toward African ancestry encoded in the racial category of *indio* and its many subcategories. Yet, by implying that to be black in the Dominican Republic is to be of foreign origin, the sayings implicitly confirm that the nation's roots are Hispanic, mingled though these have gotten over time with African.

Just so, *haitianos* and *dominicanos* in Yerba Buena agree, in distinguishing the two countries and their peoples, that the Dominican

Republic is a "white, Spanish country," and Haiti, a "black, African country." *Braceros*, for example, invoke this image to lend dramatic clarity to their sense of feeling out of place in the Dominican Republic, and to justify their commitment to returning home to Haiti with any savings they might accumulate over the harvest. They say that, as blacks, Haitians do not belong in a "white country." Again, no one seems to think that this image of whiteness is literally true. Neither *dominicanos* nor *haitianos* necessarily mean to imply that the people of the Dominican Republic are predominantly of European ancestry. Just about any Dominican will admit that his or her countryfolk are mostly people of mixed race. What is sooner claimed is that the country's customs and mores are of European rather than African origin.

RACE AND THE DOMINICAN NATIONAL FOUNDING MYTH

What are we to make of the image of the Dominican Republic as a white country and the claim that it stakes to a Spanish cultural heritage? At first glance, an emphasis on Hispanic roots, rather than on New World hybridization, seems to set the Dominican Republic apart, as an anomaly within Latin America. Paul Gilroy (1987:43-69) calls the link between racism and nationalism a defining element of Europe's "new" (more culturally than biologically defined) racism. In the Americas, these conceptual links, between race, nation, and culture, are much older. Since the nineteenth century, country after country in Latin America has adopted the concept of a new race as the cornerstone of its national founding myth. With the exception of a few countries, these founding myths have been built around narratives recounting the biological and cultural blending of Europeans, Native Americans, and Africans, into new, distinctively American, peoples.¹¹ This said, Dominicans share a history of elite hostility toward explicitly "African" cultural elements which their Afro-Iberian cousins in Cuba, Puerto Rico, Colombia, and Brazil, in denying the African roots of their culture.

The idea that Dominican culture is fundamentally Hispanic, and not African, derives sustenance from official histories that glorify the role of the Spanish in founding and building colonial Santo Domingo, and ignore or disparage the part played by people of African descent. The aggressive official propagation, over the last several decades, of a Hispanophilic, Afro-phobic version of Dominican history goes some distance toward resolving the seeming paradox of a culturally and racially mixed people speaking of their country as a white nation.

Official history – as disseminated, for example, via the schools, the Armed Forces Radio, and privately-owned news and entertainment media – has it that the original settler population of the island was made up of Spanish colonists. These colonists mixed genetically with the aboriginal Taínos, and this population was in its turn gradually darkened by successive waves of black immigrants, from Haiti and islands of the Lesser Antilles. Official history portrays Afro-Dominicans, in other words, as if they were the residue of a black tincture that has been added, drop by drop, to what was originally a purely white base. There is an obvious congruence between this image and the idea that the Dominican Republic is a white country. Both identify the Spanish, for having outlived the Native American and having ostensibly arrived on the island before the African, to be not just the dominant cultural influence but the biological and cultural base upon which all else in the Dominican nation is a more or less recent addition.

It need only briefly be noted that all this flies in the face of known historical population records. From these, it is known, for example, that, as early as 1546, Africans and Afro-Dominicans outnumbered Europeans and Euro-Dominicans by more than two to one. In the absence of large-scale immigration from Europe or Africa, population growth in the centuries that followed was based largely on mixed race unions, between slaves, free people of color, and creole whites (Moya Pons 1974a).

Perhaps no version of the past has more influence on the thinking of ordinary Dominicans than that put forward in primary school history and geography textbooks. In spite of the large presence of Africans and people of African ancestry in colonial Santo Domingo throughout its history, and the vitality of African-derived beliefs and practices in today's Dominican Republic, nowhere in primary school textbooks is recognition given to the place of Africans and their descendants in the colony and the Republic. Hispanic initiative and endeavor are instead emphasized. For example, these textbooks either assert that the Dominican population is descended from the offspring of indigenous Taínos and Spaniards, or admit the existence of Dominicans of African ancestry only by attributing this to the recent immigration of blacks from other parts of the Antilles (González Canalda & Silié 1985). Similarly, primary school texts do not mention that the Haitian Army *twice* liberated Afro-Dominicans from slavery, when it occupied the eastern end of the island in 1801 and again in 1822. Nor is it noted that in 1844 Afro-Dominicans took up arms out of fear that slavery would be reimposed after the Haitian occupiers were expelled (Franco 1977:161; Moya Pons 1974b:21). Textbooks and other official information media instead depict the Haitian occupation solely as a

period of chaos and atrocities, terms that are not used to describe repeated European and U.S. violations of Dominican sovereignty (González Canalda & Silié 1985:24-26).

Even artistic and scholarly efforts to "discover" and "rehabilitate" the African content of Dominican culture have focused not on Afro-Dominican but Haitian or West Indian themes. "What is unique about Afro-Dominican poetry," James Davis (1982:30) remarks, "is that many poets have concentrated on those Blacks who are clearly not Dominican and have not allocated comparative attention to, nor demonstrated an appreciation of the autochthonous." Similarly, the front cover of the *Almanaque folklórico dominicano* (Domínguez, Castillo & Tejeda 1978) – a book that draws much-needed attention to African cultural influences – bears a photograph not of an Afro-Dominican ritual or festivity but of musicians and dancers in the *Haitian rara* festival, celebrated in sugar *bateyes* on Easter weekend. In striving to embrace their own negritude, many Dominicans find positive models of Africanity not at home but in Haiti or elsewhere in the Americas, thus betraying a deeply-rooted assumption that Afro-Caribbean immigrants are the only "authentic blacks" in Dominican society.

Perhaps nowhere other than in the sugar *bateyes* could it seem more plausible that the Dominican Republic is a white country, against which the sugar plantations stand out as dark blotches. Not only most of the people on the sugar estates, but the industrial landscape, schedules of work, and processes of production, were introduced there from neighboring sugar islands little more than one-hundred years ago. Plantation people, places, and activities remain different from those encountered elsewhere in the country. *Haitianos* and *dominicanos* on the sugar estates share a sense of standing outside the national mainstream. This feeling of marginality is made more persuasive by Santa Ana being, like other estates of the southeast, virtually a self-contained, independent jurisdiction, almost a nation within the nation. The plantation possesses its own police force, justice and dispute resolution mechanisms, commercial sector, and currency (in the form of company pay stubs accepted in lieu of cash at local stores), not to mention its particular idioms, festivals, and highly-proletarianized way of life. And, even though Haitian-Dominican relations are friendlier on the sugar estates than elsewhere, nowhere in the country does the line between the two ethnicities have greater daily relevance. Practical lessons, about the unequal place of the two ethnic groups in society, are constantly repeated through the different treatment accorded to Haitians and Dominicans in the *bateyes* and the sugarcane fields. These lessons are surely as powerful, or more so, than any conveyed through discourse alone.

THE MASKING OF HISTORY

At least one widely-respected student of the Caribbean suggests that Dominican national identity is little more than a negation of Haitian-ness, and with it of blackness (Lewis 1983:284). Bearing in mind that the Dominican Republic was founded in revolt against Haitian rule, some might well surmise that Dominicans define themselves as a nation less by what they are than by what they do not wish to be, that is, not Haitian, and by extension, not African. Much more could be said about the historical process through which Dominicans attained consciousness of themselves as a nation in the first place, and came to accept a national self-image that defines "negro dominicano" to be nearly an oxymoron. It would take another essay, for example, to discuss the links between the emergence and propagation of a racialized concept of Dominican national identity and such large-scale processes as Dominican state formation and the incorporation of the country into the U.S. neocolonial orbit.

While recognizing the relevance of these bigger issues, I want in concluding to return briefly to the *batey* dialogues with which I began, to draw attention to how these local discourses imbue official myths and symbols with distinctive and potentially subversive meanings, even as they leave unquestioned the historical premises of those captured myths and symbols. Recall that in conversations about work and ethnicity, *haitianos* in Yerba Buena reject the negative attributes that *dominicanos* associate with blackness – stupidity, primitiveness, and moral degeneracy – and substitute these with positive attributes – strength, integrity, pride, and diligence. In the eyes of *haitianos*, the immigration of black Caribbean islanders has not weakened the Dominican nation but invigorated it. They claim, for example, that *haitianos* are the country's rightful "owners," because without their labor, sugar production itself would never have been possible on an industrial scale. Claims such as these valorize blackness, question the superiority of whiteness, and thereby make the black presence in the Dominican Republic seem neither threatening nor regrettable but beneficial and necessary for the nation's well-being. *Haitianos* thereby recast symbols derived from official history as a cover or mask for their own message of group redemption.

Subverting the nation's founding myth in this manner is a contradictory symbolic transformation, giving evidence of both accommodation and opposition. On the one hand, the subaltern "read" meanings into official history that are unpredictable and even hostile to the elite authors of that history. Haitian immigrants, the most subordinated of the nation's subordinated classes, do not passively accept the lessons of official history but

rework these and thereby make that history their own. On the other hand, these minority group members confirm the "truth" of the Dominican national myth, by leaving its basic narrative intact even as they invert the officially-prescribed value of its signs. *Haitianos* neither dispute that the Spanish were there first nor challenge the premise that this historical myth makes the Dominican Republic a white country. They rewrite official history not to place Africans on the scene earlier but to recast late-arriving blacks as heroes, not villains. This is not to imply that an equal balance is achieved, in which elite dominance meets its match in ordinary people's refusal to take the moral of official history at face value. Yet neither is there need to stress the power of dominant ideology over cultural subversion. History may be simultaneously contested and validated as subaltern voices form and subtly transform words passed down from elite sources.

On the one hand, a particularly powerful kind of hegemony seems to be at work, when a master narrative, such as the Dominican founding myth, emerges intact even from intentionally subversive readings. Hegemonic concepts of national identity – largely inculcated during the long, crypto-fascist Trujillo dictatorship – still have influence over politics in Yerba Buena. Looking back at the conversations about work, national politics, and ethnicity to which I was privy in Yerba Buena, I am startled by the degree to which these follow lines of which Trujillo himself would have approved. For example, the idea that Dominicans of Haitian ancestry may have divided loyalties, even when that ancestry is distant, served to restrict the appeal of the Peña Gómez campaign locally to *haitianos*. Also, *haitianos* and *dominicanos* seem all too prone to phrase expressions of group pride in terms that question the human dignity of the people of the other ethnic group. *Haitianos* trace their contribution to building the Dominican sugar industry ultimately to the innate qualities, of strength, pride, and honesty, that they feel place them physically and morally above *dominicanos*. This attitude ratifies the idea that the opposition of the two ethnic groups in the sugar industry's division of labor grows inevitably out of each group's inherent national character. *Dominicanos* pay *haitianos* in the same coin by effectively treating "haitiano" as a synonym of "black," in a symbolic context where blackness is generally assumed to be inferior to whiteness. All this surely makes it more difficult for *haitianos* to find acceptance in Dominican society as *haitianos*, rather than as individuals who try to pass as *dominicanos*. And it scarcely encourages *dominicanos* to make common cause with *haitianos* in struggling against shared exploitation.

On the other hand, we see here the twinning of an orthodox history with a history that vindicates the subordinated. This is a process analogous to the pairing of Catholic saints and African deities in syncretic religious iconography. Yerba Buena's *haitianos* parade outward adherence to the notion of a "white nation," all the while conveying to each other that the nation's purported European roots are really brittle feet of clay, that might crumble if not buttressed by a massive black presence. Tacitly accepting official historical "facts," while inverting their intended message, opens up a space of strategic ambiguity, that permits interpretations that celebrate, rather than condemn, the presence and accomplishments of Haitians and other Afro-Caribbean immigrants. A national myth that masks many truths about the nation's early years is thus appropriated as a mask, behind which felt truths about the Haitian presence on Dominican soil may be discreetly passed on and preserved among *haitianos* on the sugar estates.

The masking of history by *haitianos* in Yerba Buena is in keeping with a style of expression and reaction that has been described in various forms and contexts – e.g., speech acts, naming practices, religious syncretism – throughout the Caribbean (Reisman 1970), as well as in postplantation societies elsewhere (Brenneis 1987). Described variously as "masking," "twinning," and "cultural and linguistic ambiguity," this cultural pattern is well-known to students of the African diaspora. In it, the duality of European and African culture

is denied and covered by what is both a historical process and by an on-going symbolic technique of "taking on" dominant cultural forms and "remodeling" them so that the two cultural strands are woven into a complex of cultural and linguistic expression. (Reisman 1970:129)

It is a style that prefers indirection to confrontation, and usually leaves listeners to draw their own conclusions rather than spelling out every meaning. Strategies of this kind – aiming as they do at "master[ing] the situation as it is" (Reisman 1970:135) rather than at toppling the status quo – might understandably evolve and be perfected by Afro-Caribbean people under the restrictions of plantation slavery and the color-class systems of subordination that followed emancipation. Yet the continuing appeal of strategic ambiguity surely derives not just from its usefulness as a defensive practice but from the personal and group pride and pleasure derivable from symbolic play and control (Brenneis 1987:507). Regardless of its historical origins or present-day functions, the transvaluation of officially-propagated concepts of Dominican national identity, by *haitianos* in Yerba Buena, challenges any radical dichotomy between official and

vernacular expressions of historical consciousness. While official and vernacular interests and idioms have not fused, neither are they always and in every way opposed, irrelevant and threatening to each other.

None of this is to suggest that the *only* awareness of the past held by people in Yerba Buena is that history handed down to them by their society's ruling elites. It would be reckless to suppose that official history – even in the relativized, oppositional form into which it is cast by *haitianos* – represents the totality of history for *haitianos* or any other *batey* residents. Such a conclusion would, as Richard Price (1985:25) suggests, more likely reflect the limited local knowledge of the outsider than any lack of historical awareness and reflectiveness among rural Caribbean people. What people in Yerba Buena choose *not* to tell me about their knowledge of the past is probably as important as what they revealed in my presence. I suspect that people in Yerba Buena also hold on to other, more deeply encoded and radically oppositional, histories. When *haitianos* accept the myth of the Dominican Republic being a white nation, but appropriate this image of the nation's origins as a vehicle for the expression of their own historical consciousness, they act out just one of many possible ways of keeping the past alive and making it relevant to people today. The masking of history is one of many nonwritten "historical modi operandi" – including songs, place names, proverbs, drum rhythms, and memorabilia – through which Caribbean people preserve memory of "those aspects of the past that really matter" to them (Price 1985:29). As such, it attests once again to the adaptability and indomitable perseverance of African-American historical imaginations.

NOTES

1. The field research upon which this paper is based was carried out in the Dominican Republic and Haiti, from January 1985 to March 1987, under fellowships granted by the Doherty Fellowship Committee, the Social Science Research Council, and the American Council of Learned Societies. Monica van Beusekom, Bill Meltzer, and Andrew Williams, and anonymous reviewers kindly read and critiqued preliminary drafts. I presented a first draft of this paper at a panel on "Historical Consciousness and Modes of Action," organized by Deborah Rubin and Deborah Caro, at the 1988 meeting of the American Anthropological Association. I made subsequent revisions during my appointments as Rockefeller Postdoctoral Fellow in the Humanities at the University of Michigan's Center for Afroamerican and African Studies and as postdoctoral fellow at the University of Virginia's Carter G. Woodson Institute for Afro-American and African Studies. Unless otherwise noted, all findings, opinions and other statements in this paper are mine, as is responsibility for any remaining errors or distortions.

2. Dore Cabral (1992), Murphy (1991:94-97), and Martínez (1996), provide references and academic commentaries on this human rights literature.

3. African influences live on in Dominican folk Catholicism, music and dance, and popular food habits (Domínguez, Castillo & Tejeda 1978:145-57; Deive 1981:124-39). Local cults and religious brotherhoods keep alive African-derived traditions of worship and mutual aid, that date back in certain instances to the days of slavery (Davis 1976). Also, a variety of Haitian voodoo, blended with spiritism, thrives on Dominican soil, in spite of repeated official attempts to implicate the cult with devil worship and cannibalism (Davis 1987; Deive 1992).

4. E.g., Franco 1973, Despradel 1974, Cassá 1976, Charles 1992, Sagás 1993.

5. For Bodnar (1992:13-14), official historical consciousness "originates in the concerns of cultural leaders or authorities at all levels of society. Whether in positions of prominence in small towns, ethnic communities, or in educational, government, or military bureaucracies, these leaders share a common interest in social unity, the continuity of existing institutions, and loyalty to the status quo ... Vernacular culture, on the other hand, represents an array of specialized interests that are grounded in parts of the whole ... Defenders of such cultures are numerous and intent on protecting values and restating views of reality derived from firsthand experience in small-scale communities rather than the 'imagined' communities of a large nation ... [N]ormally vernacular expressions convey what social reality feels like rather than what it should be like. Its very existence threatens the sacred and timeless nature of official expressions."

6. "Hegemony" is defined as common-sense assumptions about the social order, as well as struggles, among people of dominant and subordinated classes and positions in society, to change or conserve the categories and content of that common-sense thought. Hegemony is therefore both structure and struggle, and "can ... only be grasped as a process" (Brow 1990:4). Hegemonic processes involve both discourse – the field of contending opinions – and practical consciousness – the spatial order, temporal routines, and social roles that determine everyday activity (Bourdieu 1977:164-71; Giddens 1986:xxii-xxiii).

7. Both Yerba Buena and Santa Ana are pseudonyms.

8. In 1986, two main factions within the ruling Partido Revolucionario Dominicano (PRD) contested the party's presidential nomination. Peña was leader of the more populist and left-leaning faction of the two. He was to lose the party's nomination to Jacobo Majluta, leader of the more centrist faction. Majluta, in turn, lost the general election narrowly to octogenarian Joaquín Balaguer, leader of the right-wing Partido Reformista Social Cristiano (PRSC). In the general elections of 1994 and 1996, supporters of then-president Balaguer stirred up opposition to Peña Gómez by airing innuendos about Peña's purportedly divided national loyalties and by directing crude racial slurs against him, in the nation's print and electronic media. It is widely understood that these attacks (as well as suspected fraud in 1994) were largely responsible for denying Peña electoral victory. This said, the fact that Peña came just short of winning the presidency in 1994 and 1996 makes me wonder how deeply rooted anti-black and anti-Haitian feelings truly are among most ordinary Dominicans. It seems that for many Dominicans Peña addressed concerns that took precedence over any bad feelings they may have had about Peña's blackness and

Haitian ancestry. It goes beyond the scope of this paper to account for how anti-Haitian prejudice may be both "free-floating" (not to say "superficial") and, in certain circumstances, "strong" enough to decisively influence public opinion. Yet it remains an open question for students of Dominican race relations to explain why a huge segment of the Dominican population supports Peña in spite of the racist, anti-Haitian vitriol that has been thrown at him.

9. On the genesis of this racial continuum in the Dominican Republic and elsewhere in the Hispanic Caribbean, see Hoetink 1973 and 1985.

10. The use of the term *indio* as a racial category was made lasting in the 1930s through its adoption as an official racial classification for the national identity card (Incháustegui Cabral 1976:6). Even so, euphemistic use of the word *indio* has a much longer history. As early as the seventeenth century, enslaved Africans who escaped the French side of the island, and sought refuge in Spanish Santo Domingo, insisted on being called *indios* (Fennema & Loewenthal 1987:28). In the late nineteenth century, early Dominican nationalists looked back to the island's Amerindian past in their search for forerunners of Dominican nationalism. This movement was a revival of the *indigenismo* that had earlier swept continental Latin America (Despradel 1974:94-95). The *indigenistas* suggested that the encounter between Amerindians and Spaniards represented the genuine roots of Dominican nationhood. In spite of its shaky historical basis (by the end of the sixteenth century, the island's indigenous population was culturally extinct), *indigenismo* gave Dominican patriots a vehicle to expose the errors and cruelties of the Spanish, and assert their own attachment to things Dominican. Simultaneously, it maintained silence about Africans and their descendants, even those who rebelled openly against Spanish masters. Africans and African-Americans, for instance, play only an unseen part in the outstanding literary work of the *indigenista* school, Galván's historical novel, *Enriquillo*, which is still required reading in Dominican schools.

11. "Throughout much of the core of Spanish America, ... a glorified memory of local precontact states, ... in the eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century criollo imaginations, led numerous members of the controlling sector, who nonetheless disparaged the mixed and unmixed descendants of the original natives, to identify themselves as legitimate heirs of the ancient indigenous empires. And in our century, claims to authentic ethnic (and moral) precedence over the conquering Europeans ... transformed Amerindian symbols and cultural practices into critical building blocks for many nation-building narratives." (Klor de Alva 1995:243-44)

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CREOLIZATION REDUX: THE PLURAL SOCIETY
THESIS AND OFFSHORE FINANCIAL SERVICES
IN THE BRITISH CARIBBEAN

It is in the strictest sense a medley, for they mix but do not combine. Each group holds by its own religion, its own culture and language, its own ideas and ways. As individuals they meet, but only in the market-place, in buying and selling. (Furnivall 1948:304)

Events that take place in the British Caribbean rarely make it to the *Los Angeles Times*. Recently, however, an article about Nevis appeared on the first page of the *Times*' "World Perspective" section. Titled "Island of Nevis' Itch to Secede Shocks Region of Ministates," the article reports that some Nevisians want out of their fourteen-year alliance with neighboring St. Kitts. It quotes Prime Minister Denzil Douglas's concern that independence for Nevis will mean further fragmentation in a region already highly disunified. According to Douglas,

The real world is coming closer together, getting together in mega-blocs because of the challenges being faced by states today with the globalization of the world economy and trade liberalization. [...] It is unfortunate that the Caribbean region, as marginalized as it is at present, is now finding itself with the possibility of fragmentation, thus further marginalizing the area and making it appear to be unstable. (Darling 1997:A5)

The article also reports that one of the reasons Nevisians seek independence is to further the island's promotion as an offshore financial services center: Nevis "has been more successful at attracting international

bankers" than St. Kitts, but the federal government "puts stumbling blocks in the way of [its] attempts to develop activities such as [...] offshore financial services" (Darling 1997:A5).

My argument in this essay is that the connection between political fragmentation and offshore financial services illustrates an increasingly common vision of the political and economic future among government and business leaders in the Anglophone Caribbean who seek to carve out a place for the West Indies in the new globalizing economy to which Prime Minister Douglas refers. In that vision, Caribbean jurisdictions' success in the global economy comes not through their participation in regional trading blocs or transnational agreements like the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA). Rather, their success comes about through standing outside such regional federations, as "islands" between emerging blocs, providing offshore financial services to parties wishing to conduct business between or around such blocs. In this vision of the future, Caribbean jurisdictions will engage in a kind of "global positioning" (McMichael 1996), offering themselves up to global capital as unique niches for capital flows and international finance at the boundaries of major regional trading blocs. Political fragmentation is advantageous, in this vision, because it allows for many jurisdictions to compete with one another and to develop specialized services for global investors.

The goal of this essay is not to reflect on the potential economic impact of political fragmentation coupled with offshore finance, however. I am not interested, here, in whether this is a viable vision. Rather, I am interested in what the logic linking the creation of new jurisdictions to offshore finance can tell us about notions of identity and culture in the "offshore Caribbean" (Maingot 1993). Island jurisdictions that have successfully marketed themselves as offshore financial service centers – the British Virgin Islands, the Cayman Islands, the Bahamas, and Bermuda, to name the more familiar ones – have done so by stressing elements of an imagined "British" heritage, and usually emphasize their British *legal* heritage. At the same time, they also stress their *unique* legal and regulatory apparatuses: each island, because of its own unique laws, has something special to offer the global investor.

My contention is that the combination of an imagined past with a "global positioning" vision of the future compels an ironic re-reading of M.G. Smith's famous "plural society" thesis. In the global positioning vision, instead of separate "ethnic" groups existing within island societies, each maintaining its own institutions, here separate *islands* would stress their "institutional" (read legal and regulatory) uniqueness, and would come together "only in the market-place" of international capitalism, to

offer up their laws to prospective investors. What are we to make of Caribbean political leaders and savvy marketers who desire jurisdictional autonomy from wider federations, like that of St. Kitts-Nevis, and who emphasize their "Britishness" and craft legislation for new kinds of investment arrangements? And what are we to make of a vision of the Caribbean's future in which Furnivall's definition of the plural society quoted above would start to look like a political reality, but clearly not in a manner he foresaw?

OFFSHORE FINANCE IN THE CARIBBEAN

Offshore finance trade publications list the following Caribbean islands as offshore financial service centers or tax havens: Anguilla, Antigua and Barbuda, Aruba, the Bahamas, Barbados, Bermuda, the British Virgin Islands, the Cayman Islands, Curaçao, Grenada, Montserrat, St. Kitts-Nevis, St. Martin, St. Vincent, the Turks and Caicos Islands.¹ Many of these jurisdictions, of course, are not full-fledged "service centers," with accountancy, legal, and financial offices and workers ready to help businesses and individuals conduct their affairs "offshore." Rather, most are simply jurisdictions with tax codes that favor foreign investment. Some do so merely by offering lower corporate tax rates than the United States, the United Kingdom, and other countries, and so are true "tax havens." Others, however, actively market themselves as offshore financial service centers and have encouraged banks and accountancy firms to set up shop within their territories. They have also crafted legal and regulatory apparatuses to enable certain kinds of specialized services unavailable "on-shore," or to enable special kinds of "investment entities" like offshore trusts and "international business companies" – mostly of the "brass-plate" variety. Notable examples here are the Bahamas, Bermuda, the British Virgin Islands, and the Cayman Islands (Gallagher 1990; Roberts 1994a, 1994b; Maurer 1995b).

Mainstream economists tend to evaluate offshore finance in terms of its benefits to the tax revenue base of offshore jurisdictions (see Hines & Rice 1994). They do this, however, based on the erroneous assumption that offshore financial service centers make money by encouraging direct foreign investment, by taxing corporate earnings, or, by creating local jobs. Economists measure the impact offshore financial services have on tax havens in terms of foreign money that "stays" and generates revenue either by being directly invested in local infrastructure or services, or by contributing to a country's tax base. While tax revenue is an important

part of the income contributed by offshore investors, as in the Bahamas (Ramsaran 1984), and while the construction of infrastructure through direct foreign investment does contribute to the gross domestic product of places like Bermuda and the Caymans, most Caribbean governments make money from the fees that they charge for their services, not from taxes they collect.

In the British Virgin Islands, for example, individuals or corporations can create an "international business company" (IBC) domiciled in the BVI for a one-time incorporation fee of US\$300 and an annual licensing fee of US\$300. Such IBCs usually exist for a short time only, generally for the duration of a particular transaction a company wishes to conduct "off-shore," and are then dissolved. Dissolutions are announced in the local newspapers, whose back pages are always full of "Voluntary Liquidation" notices:

International Business Companies Ordinance, 1984
Cape Blanche, S.A.
In Voluntary Liquidation
Notice is hereby given that
CAPE BLANCHE S.A. has been
dissolved and struck from The
Registry of Companies.
For and on behalf of International
Liquidator Services Limited, Liquidator.
sgd: International Liquidator Services, Ltd.

Many such companies come into and go out of existence over the course of a week, and so the revenue generated from fees can become considerable. In 1992, out of a total BVI government revenue of US\$54 million, the offshore financial services sector contributed US\$21 million, outstripping tourism (Meyers 1993; Maurer 1995b:227).

Since I am concerned with emerging discourses of identity and heritage in Caribbean offshore centers, I will not here review the variety of business practices – legitimate and illegitimate – that go on in tax havens (on "legitimate" uses, see Maurer 1995a; on "illegitimate" uses, see Maingot 1993, 1995). But because I believe that these emerging discourses depend on certain features of the global political economy that led some Caribbean islands to become tax havens, I will briefly discuss the place of offshore finance in the international financial system.

After the end of World War II, the United States, through the Marshall Plan of 1948-52, put itself in the position of lender to Europe and Japan, in part to redevelop these war-ravaged places but also to contain the Soviet sphere of influence (Helleiner 1994; Strange 1994; Cerny 1994). Chinese

and Soviet interests, meanwhile, fearing U.S. seizure of their assets in U.S. banks, transferred their deposits in dollars to European banks. This net flow of dollars into Europe created the "Eurodollar market," as currency traders and bankers in Europe sought borrowers for their dollars outside of the sphere of U.S. regulation.

By the end of the 1950s, economic recovery in Europe and Japan and rising U.S. military expenditures turned the United States into a debtor nation. U.S. multinational corporations increased the net flow of dollars out of the country, European and other countries engaged in competitive deregulation to attract dollar investments, and, as a result, by 1970 the number of dollars held outside of the United States was equal in terms of value to the amount of gold in the U.S. gold reserves. With the increase in U.S. deficits, more dollars abroad, and the rising ratio of dollars to gold, investors began to worry about the declining "credibility" of the U.S. dollar, and a subsequent run on U.S. gold, as holders of dollars would seek to cash them in. In response to this situation, President Richard Nixon in 1971 "closed the gold window," devalued the dollar, and effectively ended Bretton Woods (Strange 1994).

Oil-producing countries drew even more dollars away from the United States during the OPEC oil price rise – brought on, in part, by concerns over the "credibility" of the dollar – and as a result, the Eurodollar market swelled with new "petrodollars." European banks found eager borrowers in Third World countries embarking on development schemes based on import substitution or export production (but rarely both). President Ronald Reagan's attempts to tighten U.S. control over the supply of dollars in the world made such loans less profitable to Eurodollar lenders, who raised interest rates, in part generating the Third World debt crisis.

The period 1970-90 can be characterized as a period of competitive deregulation of the world's financial markets.² Many states set themselves up as offshore financial centers, rewriting their banking and finance regulations to cater to flexible accumulation strategies and to the Eurocurrency markets.³ Ramesh Ramsaran's relatively early study of the role of the Eurocurrency markets in fostering the Bahamas' offshore sector demonstrates clearly the connection between Eurodollars, U.S. deregulation, the end of Bretton Woods, and the rise of the Bahamas as a banking and insurance center. The number of foreign bank branch offices and foreign-owned subsidiary banks in the Bahamas increased from 25 in 1967, to 119 in 1971, to 156 in 1978 (Ramsaran 1984:270).

At the same time, deregulation in the United States in the 1970s and the United Kingdom in the 1980s also led to new kinds of financial instruments. In the 1970s, the United States ended rules governing stock

brokers' commissions; this led to increased competition among brokers, who attempted more speculative and innovative investment mechanisms. A key regulation encouraged the growth of both new financial instruments and offshore finance: the Federal Reserve's Regulation Q of 1986. Regulation Q "prohibited [U.S.] banks from paying interest on deposits with maturity of less than thirty days" (Jorion 1995:31; see Chorafas & Steinman 1994). This, in turn, made securities more attractive than loans against bank deposits, and so boosted the securities market.⁴ It also made the Eurocurrency market more attractive than onshore investments, and so boosted offshore finance (Roberts 1994a, 1994b).

Susan Roberts (1994a:237) argues that these "changes in the international financial system cannot be understood except as operating through [...] distinct spaces" such as Caribbean offshore centers. She concludes that offshore financial centers are not peripheral to international finance, and that post-Fordism cannot be understood without reference to these spaces. Post-Fordist flexible production strategies have gone hand in hand with flexible financing, made possible by regulatory change in the major banking centers, the rise of non-bank financial entities, and the development of offshore centers as nodes in capital networks necessary to the financing of multinational production and business. These capital networks have also expanded as a result of increasing disparities of wealth around the world. Extremely wealthy individuals seek out private banking services, corporations seek out means of getting capital to transnational arms of their operations quickly and efficiently to finance just-in-time production strategies, and individuals and corporations alike seek out means of insulating profits and assets from taxation, nationalization, or sudden exchange rate changes. In describing these networks of capital, one must also mention the contribution of capital from illicit trade in drugs, arms, microchips, compact disks, and more mundane goods (Maingot 1995). In the "real" and "shadow" economies of international finance, the Caribbean has been anything but marginal.

"TRUST" AND REPUTATION

My concern, here, is primarily with the cultural correlates of offshore finance, an area only tangentially explored in other research on Caribbean offshore finance (Ramsaran 1984, 1989; Maingot 1993, 1995; but see Roberts 1994a, 1994b), yet discussed somewhat in research on other financial centers, like London's financial district, "the City." In his study of the City, Nigel Thrift (1996) argues that the inherently volatile post-

Bretton Woods financial system has necessitated increasing emphasis on personal relationships and cultural markers of "trust" among financial specialists. Uncertain exchange rates, new forms of financial instruments like derivatives, and flexible financing have made the world of international finance more complicated and less tangible to those who work in it. Thrift argues that increasing emphasis on trust helps financial service workers to continue their work in spite of these changes. The need for enhanced trust in financial services has led to two strategies for conjuring it up: one based on surveillance and control of employees, and the other based on "relationship management" and "work on the self" to attract clients' trust (Thrift 1996:307). The former takes place through such practices as telephone call monitoring, where supervisors have computer screens that tell them which employees are on the phone and can tap into people's conversations without warning, and "desk audits," where supervisors can inspect employees desks without notice. These are not new practices.

The latter strategy, "relationship management," *is* new. Before the 1970s, Thrift argues, trust could be assumed as a matter of course: all London financial district workers and their clients came from the same social background, and possessed the same gender, race, and class attributes, as well as educational credentials, fashion sensibilities, and tastes. During the 1970s, the huge expansion and flexibilization of finance opened doors to women and non-whites, and the end of the gold standard broke the presumed stability of international money. The City's response has been to work at building relationships of trust rather than merely assuming them. Thrift (1996:320-21) summarizes, "trust now has to be constituted through work on relationships, not read off from signs of trustworthiness. [...] The City no longer looks for signs of trust; it constructs them."

It is this work of constructing trustworthiness, I believe, that has led to an emphasis on (Anglophone) Caribbean jurisdictions' "British" heritage. British Virgin Islands' offshore finance marketing brochures tout the islands' "Anglo Saxon common law heritage," and emphasize the territory's colonial ties to Britain. Susan Roberts notes that the Caymans similarly market themselves as a stable, and above all a British, jurisdiction. As she quotes from a piece of promotional material:

The Islands enjoy stable government having no racial or political problems. [...] The Islands have not sought independence despite pressure from her Caribbean neighbours and the UN. They have instead shown their firm determination to remain a British Crown Colony. (Cayman Insurance Managers' Association, quoted in Roberts 1994a:108)

The assertion of Crown colony governance is particularly interesting here, since the Caymans are not a Crown colony but maintain local legislative autonomy (like the BVI). Presumably, however, "Crown colony" resonates with investors' desires to find a "stable" and "trustworthy" place to hide their money: the crown conjures up images of royalty, permanence, whiteness, and wealth – and colonialism, in a kind of "imperialist nostalgia" that evokes a supposedly simpler time where borders were clearly drawn and colonies were ruled by the firm but fair hand of the British Crown (Rosaldo 1989). Roberts (1994a:108) writes that the Caymans successfully market "correlates of their colonial status, such as that Britain is responsible for the defense and external affairs of the Islands, that the law is based on English common law and that English is spoken."

The British Virgin Islands' promotional literature is virtually identical to that of the Caymans. The Financial Secretary of the BVI, quoted in a *Euro-money* (1989:49) insert, remarks, "This is an offshore centre that is not for everyone. But it is for those who want to do legitimate business in a stable environment, a British dependency based on Anglo Saxon common laws." He continues, "We jealously guard and protect the reputation we have carved out for ourselves" (*Euromoney* 1989:49). And the former Chief Minister, in stressing the islands' "conservative" approach to offshore finance, explains, "We may have been too conservative at times for some people's taste. But, we want to make sure everything we do does justice to and enhances the reputation of the Territory" (*Euromoney* 1989:49).

Enhancing an offshore jurisdiction's "reputation" has often meant down-playing or denying conflicts within these territories. As Roberts (1994a:108) notes for the Caymans, "[t]he publicity materials of both the public and private sectors of the Caymans emphasize the Islands' political stability and racial harmony. Past disputes [...] and present-day discussions of constitutional change are not mentioned." Similarly, the former Minister for Natural Resources and Labor and current Chief Minister of the BVI is quoted in *Euromoney* (1989:51),

Well, I'm proud to go to any conference and say we're a British Dependent Territory. That link with Britain is always there, and our people appreciate its importance. If I wanted to lose my council seat immediately, all I would have to do is encourage independence. We have the assurance of Great Britain that they will stand by us and assist us. That's especially important in maintaining the excellent reputation we have. Our people are very strong on law and order. And the resources, for example, of Scotland Yard are there for us.

Unlike many other countries, we don't have political parties or trade unions. The people know what they want and don't want. They're independent-minded and practical. They know that more development and

British Dependent Territory status, especially in the financial services sector, helps to shift some of the burdens from them. They have no desire to give that up.

One of this minister's main political rivals expressed much the same sentiment in a letter in a *Financial Times* special insert on the BVI's offshore sector, in which he discussed the unanimity among political and business leaders on the issue of providing a stable and sound offshore jurisdiction. Writing about the passage of the 1984 International Business Companies Ordinance, he notes:

There was no issue of importance on which there was disagreement between the government and the members of the financial community in the Territory and those with whom they do business outside; and there was such a measure of agreement by the Government and Opposition benches in the Legislative Council that a major innovative ordinance of some technical complexity and 119 sections was enacted unanimously by the House.

He concludes his letter, now clearly addressed to the international investor:

So, if you would like a secure home for your money, administered by responsible people in a stable community and denominated in a major international trading currency, you may well have no better choice than the BRITISH VIRGIN ISLANDS. (Romney 1985:13)

An advertisement for the BVI Tourist Board in the same *Financial Times* insert drives home the message: "Come experience the Caribbean, that is still British" (British Virgin Islands Tourist Board 1985:15).

The political stability and popular unity the ministers laud does not come easily, however. At present, it is maintained by harsh immigration and citizenship laws that define citizenship in terms of descent and that deny children of immigrants rights to land and work. Fully half of the population of 18,000 do not have citizenship rights. The political "stability" the ministers tout thus depends on excluding large numbers of people from voting. Meanwhile, as I have discussed elsewhere, changes in citizenship law that denied citizenship to children born of immigrant parents on BVI soil also conveniently worked to shelter other British subjects from BVI tax laws. In 1981, citizenship law changed; in 1984, the International Business Company Act was passed (Maurer 1995c).

The BVI discourse on "untrustworthy" immigrants is echoed in World Bank rhetoric about the untrustworthiness of people who keep bad

accounts. In a world where procedural norms are supposed to guarantee market stability, a person or firm or government that does not keep to strict accounting standards is morally suspect. Of particular concern to the World Bank are institutions and governments that can't quite seem to figure out how to do double-entry bookkeeping – that hallmark of capitalist rationality (Weber 1958; Carruthers & Epseland 1991). According to the World Bank (1996:139), teaching people in “transitioning” economies proper “market-related skills and business know-how” – like “international accounting standards” – is the key to resolving such problems and strengthening trust. What are deeply culturally specific requirements of capitalist societies with political consequences – convertability into one scale of value, double-entry bookkeeping, accounting as a practice of knowledge, etc. – are here written as universally applicable, rational, common-sense “know-how.”

Good accounting skills help bolster “reputation,” the key element in the success of an offshore financial center. In working to develop their reputation, BVI offshore promoters highlight the territory's accountancy standards: “We're not providing just a bucket shop operation here [...]. We have all the ancillary operations involved in administration, accounting and trusts” (*Euromoney* 1989:52). And, offshore promoters imply, they expect the same high standards of the institutions that incorporate in the BVI: “We're laying quite a bit of importance upon attracting banks of high calibre” (*Euromoney* 1989:53). “[W]e want no part of any shady dealings whatsoever” (*Euromoney* 1989:50).

Guidebooks to offshore investing often link reputation not just to a scandal-free history, but also to technical expertise. Arnold Cornez, in his *Offshore Money Book* (1996:42), writes,

The soundness of your OS [offshore] structure is only as good as the professionals who create and currently manage it ... Look for an educated workforce; an abundance of fairly priced, qualified attorneys, banking facilities, chartered accountants, asset and portfolio managers, consultants, company managers and trustees is essential.

He also advises seeking out long-term residents of tax havens: “They don't want to lose their work permits and become exiles, so they are more likely to be trustworthy” (Cornez 1996:42). “The Question of Trust” (p. 23) is central to going offshore, Cornez writes, and the number one guideline for evaluating offshore locations is the “general reputation or quality of the tax haven” (p. 36).

In sum, the tangibles and the intangibles of "reputation" – from chartered accountants to "British traditions" – are the focus of marketers of offshore jurisdictions.

CREOLIZATION REDUX: THE PLURAL SOCIETY REVISITED?

In his cyberpunk science fiction novel, *The Diamond Age*, Neal Stephenson (1995) creates a world of flexible citizenship and elective "tribal" membership. The nation-state is over, replaced by a worldwide network of computers and nanotechnology that keeps business moving, and by tribal "enclaves," gated city-states linked through information technology into conglomerates-cum-"nations." Every tribe specializes in a particular enterprise. Some are relatively self-contained, but they are not necessarily localized. People carry their tribal membership with them wherever they go, and often that is enough to protect them; especially if they are members of the more prestigious and technologically advanced tribes, such as the "Neo-Victorians." In Stephenson's world, the Neo-Victorians are individuals who have chosen to create stability and islands of calm for themselves in this complex and often violent world by embracing the ethos of nineteenth-century English upper-class culture. They are completely at home with high-tech, however, and integrate ultra-sophisticated nanotechnological inventions with the objects of everyday Victorian life – such as "young ladies' primers." Stephenson's world is also inhabited by people who have fallen through the cracks and are unable to gain entry to any tribe. They live outside the protected enclaves, in massive slums polluted by centuries of toxic dumping.

Stephenson's Neo-Victorians bear many characteristics of successful offshore private bankers, who provide the world of stability their clients long for. Lyn Bicker's survey of private banking in Europe reveals that "image" is of overriding concern to "high net worth individuals" seeking financial services:

The established players trade on their reputation, history and connections. With pedigrees of two or three hundred years, a number of the traditional Swiss private banks, for example, have long been the confidantes of the rich and influential, and maintain their solid reputation assiduously. (Bicker 1996:3)

The pedigree metaphor even crops up in advertisements for private banking services. One, published in *The New Yorker*, sports images of pure-bred, high-status dogs (a King Charles spaniel, a Shar-pei), and reads,

"Careful breeding is important in portfolio management as well" (Union Bank of Switzerland 1996).

What are we to make of a discourse that emphasizes pedigree in the creole Caribbean? The assertion of a sort of "neo-Victorianism" among colonial and post-colonial Caribbean subjects who forge notions of sovereignty and distinctiveness from markers of colonial Britishness renders neo-Victorianism somewhat ironic. As noted earlier, maintaining colonial ties to Britain has been crucial to offshore jurisdictions like the BVI and the Caymans. Investors feel that British tax havens are "safe" havens, not liable to be rocked by political turmoil or revolution. Britishness also connotes whiteness, which may soothe international investors who seem to be mainly North American, European, or Far Eastern.

Historically, of course, the anthropology of the Caribbean has been concerned with the dynamics of creolization. Creolization has been taken to refer to a blending of cultural elements from putatively separate and distinct cultural wholes. Some elements of Caribbean nationalist discourse similarly have relied on a story of culture-mixing, telling a tale of Caribbeanness forged in centuries of contact and cultural blending. Other elements have taken up the plural society thesis, envisioning Caribbean nations made up of mosaics of separate ethnicities, each with its own institutions, traditions, and cultural forms.

Regardless of the status of the nationalist or anthropological claims about the emergence of creole societies in the Caribbean, the emerging marketing and political discourse surrounding offshore finance seems to disarticulate the blending of cultures in creolization rhetoric and to posit a time "before" creolization. The assertion of Britishness in offshore finance discourse effects a kind of "creolization redux." The word "redux" was originally a medical term used to refer to the return of a diseased organ to its original state. The dis-ease of creolization may be a source of pride to some Caribbean nationalists and a topic of study for anthropologists. But it is terrible marketing strategy in a world that depends so much on "trust" and illusions of stability and calm. In marketing Britishness, and stressing British legal traditions, those involved in promoting offshore finance attempt a redux – a "return" to a fictitious original state, "before" creolization, of "British" culture in the Caribbean.

M.G. Smith's plural society thesis held that Caribbean societies were composed of conflicting ethnic groups that were institutionally distinct but held together by the power of a dominant group. His position was criticized, rightly, as echoing a Caribbean elite ideology that justified elite rule (Bryce-Laporte 1967; Robotham 1980). The creolization redux of offshore finance puts forward a different vision of Caribbean society. Like

the plural society thesis, however, this vision also rests on assertions of separate institutional structures of conflicting groups held together – epistemologically but not politically – by a dominant entity. Here, the “groups” are entire islands, not sub-segments of island societies. And the “dominant” element that holds the islands together in one epistemological space is the idea of a “Britishness” that assures “trust.” In this logic, each island must develop its own institutions in order to attract offshore investment. Political fragmentation makes sense, for it enables each island to create its own investment laws and market its distinctiveness on the international market. Offshore investors do shop around for different services, and like to diversify their offshore operations in several jurisdictions at once. Asserting the separateness and uniqueness of each island, while also asserting the islands’ British heritage, may thus seem to be a reasonable approach to crafting political and economic futures. “The Caribbean,” in this vision of the future, is a “pluralistic” place where investors can pick and choose from among many different institutional arrangements, all of which are backed by relationships and images of “trust” and “Britishness.”

CONCLUSION

What I am calling creolization redux is, of course, wonderful marketing strategy. It constitutes the markers of trust that international investors are looking for when they seek out specialized financial services offshore. In the globalizing political economy of the late twentieth century, creolization redux allows Caribbean peoples to market their niches in a world where jurisdictions that attract money, not countries that produce goods, are likely to defer the pain of structural reform and “neoliberalism,” at least in the short run.

Offshore finance offers new possibilities for understanding law, state, market, and person. Clearly, it also reinvigorates and recreates the state in its role as law-giver (Helleiner 1994). It generates new inequalities, and helps construct “old” national identities. Yet there exists a nervous uncertainty that has the potential to erode the “traditions” on which offshore finance supposedly rests. How is one to tell whether those one deals with are “truly” reasonable, “truly” trustworthy? Offshore jurisdictions invest many advertising dollars in bolstering their “trustworthy” reputation. Defining trust entails denying trust to some individuals by constituting them as inherently untrustworthy. As it excludes some and enriches others, creolization redux lends a fiction of stability to international finance.

The Caribbean in this “global positioning” vision of the future may indeed come to resemble Neal Stephenson’s science fiction scenario. As these islands detach themselves from – or are denied entry into – large political economic entities, and as they attempt to stand “outside” regional blocs, they become like Stephenson’s enclaves. These “islands” in a global network constitute a shopping-mall of jurisdictions for international capital, a haven of a new kind of “pluralism.” It remains to be seen how much of this vision will be put into practice, by whom, in whose interests, and to what effects.

NOTES

1. Ginsberg 1991; Cornez 1996; see also Maurer 1995a:126-27 for a comprehensive list of world offshore financial service centers.
2. This is the same period to which David Harvey (1989) and others trace post-Fordist production strategies: niche marketing, just-in-time production, and flexible specialization.
3. By this time other currencies besides U.S. dollars were traded outside their countries of issue.
4. This was especially the case for the market in financial instruments based on securities that are pegged to periods of time, such as “futures,” “options,” or, broadly, “derivatives” – any security pegged to the value or future value of other securities.

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THE *CIMARRÓN* IN THE ARCHIVES: A RE-READING OF
MIGUEL BARNET'S BIOGRAPHY OF ESTEBAN MONTEJO

Aunque por supuesto nuestro trabajo no es histórico (Miguel Barnet)

Apart from Manuel Moreno Friginals's *El ingenio*, there is hardly any other book in Cuban historiography that has met with such wide circulation as *Biografía de un cimarrón* by Miguel Barnet.¹ It is, in spite of a series of contradictions, the classic in *testimonio* literature for contemporary studies on slavery as well as for the genre of historical slave narratives extending far beyond Cuba. In particular the various new editions and translations, such as the English versions that have been published under the titles *Autobiography of a Runaway Slave* (Barnet 1968), *Autobiography of a Runaway Slave* (Esteban Montejo & Miguel Barnet 1993) or *Biography of a Runaway Slave* (Barnet 1994) and the discussion that Barnet's book stimulated bear witness to this position.²

Both *El ingenio* (1964) and *Cimarrón* (1966) were first published in the mid-1960s, and were followed by a rapid succession of new editions. They are, in a way, unequal twins of Cuban revolutionary historiography – they were both born early and quickly acquired standing and fame. Moreno had written a coherent Marxist analysis of the structural and social history of the core complex of sugar production under conditions of slavery in nineteenth-century Cuba whereas Barnet's *Cimarrón* was a literary history. Both Montejo's narrative and its literary adaptation by Barnet succeeded in grasping an individual's inside view of this oppressive form of society. This insight was given, not from the viewpoint of a plantation slave, but from the perspective of the *cimarrón* himself, the runaway slave (La Rosa Corzo 1988). A narrative of extremely oppressive structures and the irrepressible urge for freedom of an Afro-Cuban as told

by a one hundred-year-old former slave: what better symbol for the two master-narratives in early Cuban historiography after 1959 could one wish for? Today, one third of a century later, *El ingenio* and *Cimarrón* have reached the age of a historical generation. Although some of his interpretations have been challenged by subsequent research and in spite of covering "only" the period of slavery as such, Moreno's opus magnum is still considered a classic in structural analysis. Nonetheless, the heroic perspectives of Cuban history as portrayed in the 1960s and 1970s have in the meantime been overtaken by disillusionment and revision.

Why attempt a re-reading of *Cimarrón*? In spite of being a classic and compulsory reading for schools and introductory seminars at universities, the book, in the course of its life on paper, has frequently been the object of criticism stemming for the most part from historians. Objections to Barnet and his *Cimarrón* pertained to either his methodology or to the content as well as to the self-representation of the narrator. Scholars have, for example, not only criticized the methods of this form of "oral history" as mimesis of a black narrator on the part of a white writer, but also Barnet's principles of questioning and selecting material. They have criticized his portrayal of the official Cuba of the early 1960s and its effect on his account. Barnet, as well as the narrator, have been faulted for their hero-worship, anti-imperialism and indeed also for Montejo's sexualization of freedom. Montejo is depicted as a free spirit, without any social ties or organizational affiliation. They came under heavy criticism from the "guild" of historians (Fleischmann 1994:125-41).

At this point I should like to present the reader with a short recapitulation of my own experience of reading Montejo's biography. In 1970 *Cimarrón* was published in East Berlin (Barnet 1970). It was under licence to the Frankfurt am Main based Insel Publishing Company and – from today's point of view – contained a poor foreword and a faulty apparatus criticus. Despite these flaws, however, the willing reader was carried off to such mystic places as Sagua la Grande, Cruces, Lajas, and Palmira, where he could take a seat in the rocking chair next to the centenarian narrator, or follow him on his escape to the mountains and rise with him against the Spaniards and slaveholders. While the pages of the historical textbooks of the time were filled with diagrams, structures, classes and other amorphous demons, this apparently simple *testimonio*-text presented a free individual in tropical climes abounding with mighty African gods alongside real men and women. Montejo gave an account of everyday life: working, eating and drinking, playing cards, sexuality and revolution, the War of Independence of 1895. But above all the book afforded the reader insight into the will to self-assertion, the worldly wisdom and astuteness, and the

original perspectives of a former slave in a society which typecast him and many of his equals as "savages." In short: one felt overwhelming enthusiasm! It was as if the powerful orishas were reaching out to the reader from the imaginary spaces of the text to spirit him away to the worlds of Esteban Montejo.

But then came exams that called for other gods. During a visit to Leipzig in 1986, Magnus Mörner warned his audience of the traps of "oral history", as described above, and the book ended up on the book-shelf of the historian-to-be in its "beautiful fiction" section. The *Cimarrón* seemed to have died. But "habent sua fata libelli" is still valid today, as is the old saying that people said to be dead live longer still. I was soon to find out that nobody really wanted to do without this book – which is what I also experienced while conducting research in Cuba in 1987 and 1988. Even the harshest of critics used it whenever they were dealing with Cuban society of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. They used it to criticize it anew or to be inspired by it, or simply to inform themselves about Montejo's viewpoint on certain events.

Between 1993 and 1996, in the course of a research project in Cienfuegos vast numbers of sources were unearthed and scrutinized.³ In the process *Cimarrón* was used as interesting additional reading. After all, there are none or at least hardly any subjective testimonies of former slaves from which we can gain another possible view of that particular area during that period (1886-1920). Thus Esteban Montejo's statements in *Cimarrón* turned out to be quite interesting with respect to the debate on the central issue of who fought the Wars of Independence, or more specifically, the percentage of former slaves and Afro-Cubans among the *libertadores*? Montejo himself declared in a tone of utter conviction: "I know that ninety-five percent of the blacks had fought in the war" (Barnet 1994:194).

At first, reading *Cimarrón* seemed to offer clues to rural working conditions and distribution of property in the countryside. Montejo appears as the classic example of a former slave who later became a *cimarrón*, as well as a veteran who had been deprived of the fruits of his efforts in the War of Independence by the Americans. After 1898 he had to eke out an existence as a black agricultural worker and sugar-cane cutter. However, reading this book was only considered an aid, serving as literary background. In the course of analysis of contemporary sources the investigators were confronted with archaic language that very often was not easy to understand. In *Cimarrón* this form of language often seems to become comprehensible after all, although it is not clear to what extent the discourse of the literary figure Montejo was corrupted either by sub-

sequent experiences or by Barnet's adaptation. *Cimarrón* was attributed very little scholarly value, if any at all. Some Cuban specialists even suspected that Barnet had more or less invented Montejo and that a real historical figure of this name had perhaps never existed at all.⁴

Thus so much the greater was our excitement when we repeatedly encountered the names "Esteban Montejo y Mera" and "Esteban Montejo" both in notarial records in the Archive of the Province of Cienfuegos and in the press of the time. Though at first somewhat sceptical we took up the trail and found very convincing historical data, namely primary sources which prove the existence of a man called "Esteban Montejo y Mera" in the Cruces, Lajas, Palmira, and Cienfuegos area in the years between 1904 and 1912.

The literary figure Montejo introduces himself in *Cimarrón* as follows:

My family name is Montejo, for my mother, who was a slave of French origin. My middle name is Mera ... My real middle name is Mesa. What happened was that they put it down wrong in the records, and I left it that way. Since I wanted to have two names like everybody else, so I wouldn't be called "jungle baby," I took that one (Barnet 1994:18).⁵

After some thinking and searching for other forms or bearers of the name "Montejo" in the 1900-list of the former fighters (*mambises*) of the Ejército Libertador Cubano (ELC)⁶ and in the payrolls of the veterans of the ELC in the *Gaceta Oficial de la República*⁷ of 1903, we were convinced that we were dealing with the real, historical Esteban Montejo.

Let us first discuss the most important documents: payrolls of veterans and newspapers. The first set of sources in which Esteban Montejo is mentioned consists of the payrolls of veterans of the War of Independence from 1903, which record their respective rights to be paid for their service.⁸ This set of sources also includes loan contracts including the sum that was to be paid out in 1904. The *Gaceta Oficial de la República de Cuba* states succinctly: "Montejo Mera, Estéban ... Soldado ... 982.00".⁹ Montejo acknowledges this amount in his narrative (Barnet 1994:155). The loan contract from the Archive of the Province of Cienfuegos states that Montejo, at the end of February 1904, received 106 pesos from Don Andrés María González y Mora¹⁰ with a certain Eduardo Guzmán y Macías acting as a middleman.¹¹

In March and April 1904 Esteban Montejo appears twice more in the notarial records. In both instances, former witness Eduardo Guzmán y Macías lent him relatively small amounts of money which nevertheless must have been great sums to a cane cutter:

In the town of Santa Isabel de las Lajas ... D[on]. Esteban Montejo y Mera, resident of Cruces, born in Sagua, single, of age and farmer [*agricultor*] ... 100 pesos in American money.¹²

Another loan contract for the sum of 224 pesos dates from April 1904. This time Montejo was a *vecino* (resident) of Lajas:

In the town of Santa Isabel de las Lajas ... D[on]. Esteban Montejo y Mera, resident of Lajas, born in Sagua, single, of age and farmer ... again receives a loan from Sr. Guzmán y Macías this time the cash sum of 224 pesos in American money.¹³

Guzmán, from 1902 until 1904 *alcalde* (mayor) of Lajas, appears in the first contract quoted above as a witness and the underwriter for Montejo, and in the other two contracts as money-lender. This suggests that Guzmán was in a special position of trust and perhaps patron to the former *mambí* Montejo. Such contracts not only testify to financial relations, but also to client-patron networks.

The second body of sources comprises newspaper reports from 1912. While investigating the participation of blacks in the *guerra de razas* in 1912, we twice came across the name of Estéban Montejo among insurgents listed in *La Correspondencia*, the newspaper from Cienfuegos.¹⁴ All the insurgents – five in the first report, nineteen in the second – were blacks or mulattos, many of them former officers or soldiers of the ELC.

None of these references to Esteban Montejo figure in the biography by Barnet, which raises the question as to why on earth they are missing. Montejo, as Barnet claims in the prologue of *Cimarrón*, was approximately one hundred years old when he was questioned by Barnet in the early 1960s. Hence he would have been about forty in 1900. He would then have lived over a third of his life in the nineteenth century, and sixty years in the twentieth century. Still, Barnet's narrative only covers the events until 1900, and gives rather brief accounts which can be dated up to 1906. Thus Barnet virtually erased about sixty years of Montejo's life, or at least chose not to adapt them for his literary life and for posterity. This begs the question why Barnet, or even Montejo himself, did not consider this part of Montejo's biography to be relevant and why Barnet simply deleted this period from the narrative of the former *cimarrón*?

A closer look at *Cimarrón* makes it clear that the text does contain general statements by Montejo on the time after 1900, particularly on racial problems. The most important passage of the text in this respect is in Montejo's description of the participation of blacks in the struggle for independence, and of the treatment of black veterans after 1899 (Barnet

1994:194-200). The adaptation by Barnet, however, has avoided almost any reference to particular or identifiable events, particularly the "guerra de razas."¹⁵

This bias becomes especially obvious with respect to actual historical protagonists and the corresponding footnotes. The passage of the text covering the time after 1899 mentions Martín Morúa Delgado and Generoso Campos Marquetti as well as Antonio Maceo and Máximo Gómez. The text states that Montejo had some disagreement with the latter, the most important white *criollo* general, in and after 1899. But it is only the mulatto officer Campos Marquetti for whom a footnote is made. The note contains two statements which are out of context in Montejo's narrative. They almost seem to be secret messages on the activities of Campos Marquetti during the events of 1912, when Cuban troops under the command of José de Jesús Monteagudo – who like many of the "rebels" mentioned in *La Correspondencia* was a former *mambí*-fighter – massacred many blacks in the mountains of Oriente. The footnote reads:

Generoso Campos Marquetti, Liberal Party representative in the House in 1912. He seconded Martín Morúa Delgado's resolution to ban racist political parties in Cuba. (Barnet 1994:212)

The head of the Liberal Party in 1912 was José Miguel Gómez, who at the same time was president of Cuba. The law mentioned here is the so-called "Enmienda Morúa", i.e. the legal basis for the prohibition of the Afro-Cuban Partido Independiente de Color (PIC, Independent Party of Color). Montejo in the text, however, praises both Morúa and Campos Marquetti, mentioning that they were the only people who had undertaken to give "some government jobs to blacks" after the war, thus taking a stand against the general tendency to exclude the black *libertadores* from a share in the fruits of victory. Barnet's adaptation thus tends towards the ideology of the Cuban Revolution after 1959 which chose to erase this tradition from memory and portrayed blacks as excluded from the "neo-colonial" republic (1902-59).

Let us now attempt to formulate an answer to the question of who the "real" Montejo is by looking at a short and very limited analysis of the documents presented above. The contracts of Esteban Montejo were made in connection with the so-called *haberes* (share, pay, debt) of the ELC. When the U.S. forces occupied the country in 1898-99, their first task was to disarm the approximately 40,000 *mambí*-fighters and dissolve the ELC. With the help of General Máximo Gómez and the promise of payment in recognition of their service for the country, the U.S. authorities

attained their goal. First of all the *mambises* received a small sum of money when they handed in their arms (*licenciamiento*). The main pay, the so-called *paga del Ejército Libertador*, was turned into a national debt (*haber*) under the administration of the first president of the Republic of Cuba, Tomás Estrada Palma. Not only was the payment a long time in coming, but the topic itself was highly politicized and the criteria for payment remained uncertain for quite a while. In the meantime, the former *mambises*, now veterans, were desperately in need of money as subsistence agriculture had been destroyed. Many declined to work as simple sugar workers but preferred instead to buy a small plot of land.

Soon several companies came into existence and bought these legal titles at prices far below their actual value. A wave of speculation stirred Cuba (Martínez Ortiz 1929, II:54). Military leaders, particularly higher officers of the former ELC and local strongmen, such as merchants of Spanish descent and former *autonomista*-politicians, often speculated by buying the rights to payment from the former subordinates of the officers. The regional *coroneles*, because of their patron-like relation to the veterans, played the major role in these transactions.

Montejo, as an ex-soldier with a long period of service, was entitled to an official payment of 982 *pesos* of *haber*. On the basis of this sum he took out a loan of 430 *pesos* because he needed the money urgently and was unable to go to Havana to fetch it. The contract mentioned above suggests that in 1904 he was no longer a simple cane cutter, a *labrador* but that he may have been attempting to cultivate a plot of land of his own as an *agricultor* (farmer); in other words, he was trying to become a smallholder, even though he had only received about half of the amount of money he nominally had a right to. Nonetheless, the Cuban historian Diana Iznaga Beira (1986:130) writes about Montejo: "At first a slave, he became an agricultural worker because of the abolition, an occupation which he kept all his life." The period of subsistence or market farming is thus omitted.

The contracts in the notarial records reveal that Montejo had received these loans only through a recommendation by Eduardo Guzmán y Macías, or rather through the loan society the latter had founded together with the longstanding secretary of the *Ayuntamiento* of Lajas and former *autonomista*, Agustín Cruz y Cruz.¹⁶

During the first years of the new Republic, Eduardo Guzmán was a landowner and a famous *cacique político* in the Lajas-Cruces region: his "personal history" in the reports of the Military Intelligence Division under the second U.S. occupation of Cuba states that he "organized and led insurgents in this vicinity ... A dangerous man in case of trouble."¹⁷

Moreover, Guzmán had close connections to the circle of political figures centered around Major General José Miguel Gómez. It was from this circle of Liberals that some of the most influential Cuban politicians later emerged. José Miguel, as he was called by his *amigos*, became the second president of Cuba (1909-13) and Alfredo Zayas was president from 1921 until 1925. Both were leaders of the Liberal Party during the first years of the republic. Gerardo Machado, later to become president and dictator (1925-33), likewise belonged to this group. They all started their political careers in the early years of the twentieth century. In 1906, in the office of general, Guzmán led the revolt of these Liberals in the Lajas-Cruces region against the conservative administration of Tomás Estrada Palma (*guerrita de agosto*).

It is very likely that in 1904 Esteban Montejo maintained a patron-client relationship with Eduardo Gúzman, which, in effect, meant that he had an important link to a powerful *compadre*. Thus, to return to the historical view of *Cimarrón* and Barnet's method of selection, Montejo had befriended those destined to be local politicians, and he was also linked to José Miguel Gómez, Alfredo Zayas, and Gerardo Machado through his patron Don Eduardo. After 1959, the official Cuban historiography would judge these individuals very harshly.

A similar problem of selection concerns the second set of sources in which Montejo is mentioned, namely newspaper articles from 1912. That year's *guerra de razas* constitutes a dramatic and traumatic political event in recent Cuban history, one that has not been studied in great detail (Helg 1995; Bronfman 1997). The Cuban *independistas* around José Martí and Antonio Maceo had outlined a program of a Cuba *para todos y con todos* (for all and with all). Equality of the "races" was one, if not the essential social focus of this program. After 1902, Cuban blacks demanded that this program be implemented. In 1908 the first "black" party in the history of the Americas, the abovementioned Partido Independiente de Color, was founded under the leadership of black veterans of the War of Independence. Its goal was to fight for racial equality in the political arena. Founding parties "on the basis of race" was forbidden in 1910 by the "Morúa Amendment", which thus also applied to the PIC. In 1912, an election year, the leaders of this "forbidden" party, Evaristo Estenoz and Pedro Ivonet, in an effort to exert political pressure to enforce the recognition of their party, incited a revolt in the Eastern province of Oriente, in the tradition of the fights for independence. Across the country supporters of the PIC followed the call. In the other provinces they were few in number, and the *alzamientos* in the Cienfuegos area were quickly suppressed (Bronfman 1997). Montejo and his chief, the famous Simeon

Armenteros, were sent to prison. In Oriente, the armed forces under General José de Jesús Monteagudo, another man from the circle around José Miguel Gómez – who was at that time president of the Republic – took vigorous repressive action against “negroes.” In the course of the unequal battles several thousand black Cubans (and some Haitians) were literally slaughtered in the mountains (Orum 1975; Pérez 1986:509-39 and 1989; Helg 1995:193-226).

What do these events and the possible participation of Montejo mean with respect to the historical discourse of the early 1960s in Cuba in which Barnett takes part? The Cuban Revolution of 1959 had, even more radically than the Wars of Independence of 1895-98, taken up the cause of equality of the “races.” From the official viewpoint of fraternity of all men, the *guerra de razas* of 1912 was interpreted as a brutal atavism committed by a number of officers and veterans of the Wars of Independence, who saw themselves as “white,” and as an inexplicable outburst of bloodthirstiness on the part of Cubans in general. The majority of Cuban scholars implicitly accepted this line of interpretation. Another interpretation, however, characterized the apparent deviation of the leaders of PIC away from the program of equality by taking an integrationist stance as “racism.” This view was in line with the tenor of much of Cuban mass media at that time (Helg 1995:228-48).

From this point of view, it is difficult to imagine the heroic and revolutionary Montejo, as Barnett’s adaptation depicts him in the 1960s, supporting the uprising of the PIC. It was perhaps easier to bypass the entire episode altogether, erasing it from the record. Perhaps this memory was too distressing even for Montejo himself. Either way, there are no references to his participation in the revolt. In the narrative, the events of 1912 appear only in connection with Martín Morúa Delgado, situating the *guerra de razas* in Oriente: “he ... provoked the rebellion of the blacks in Alto Songo” (Barnet 1994:187).¹⁸

While awaiting the discovery of further materials on Montejo in the course of the Cienfuegos project, what provisional conclusions can the historian draw? First, one can suggest that sixty years of “silence” and omissions in the life history of the *Cimarrón* is definitely too long a period. Second, those events or structures of clientelism in which Montejo evidently participated, and which seem to have been omitted – either in his own memory or by Barnett – shed an interesting light on the problem of “race” in Cuba.

Doubts about Barnett’s methodological approach as a historian – not as a writer! – are thus confirmed, and to some extent intensified. Yet the power and strength of the historical discourse in the context of which

Barnet compiled the biography is a point in favor of forgiving him. It is perhaps too easy for historians who are working and investigating this period under better conditions and from a different perspective to denounce the alleged "errors" of an earlier generation. Thus Barnet's main achievement, which consists in making the problem of former slaves in Cuba known to a worldwide literary audience and raising its consciousness on the topic, is undiminished. But perhaps Barnet would consider writing a new epilogue for the next edition or translation of *Cimarrón*, or perhaps publishing the long announced second volume about Montejo, so that the discussion can move forward.

Third, and this seems to be the most important result of the present article, several of Montejo's statements in the narrative itself have been enhanced by the new findings described here. The next step might be to explore some of the newer discoveries. We do not know whether some of Montejo's recollections concerning the events that have been confirmed by the documents quoted above are recorded on the tapes of interviews with Barnet. If copies of those tapes were to be deposited in public archives, the research community would benefit immensely. Montejo experienced much more than the events of the forty years of the nineteenth century which Barnet adapted for his book. Exploring and understanding his trajectory in the twentieth century (Zeuske 1997) will help to bring him even more fully to life.

Both the biography and the conduct of Montejo are in line with the pattern of the lives of the several hundred black or colored former *mambises* who have been examined in the course of the Cienfuegos project. Ever since the middle of the nineteenth century the area around Lajas, Palmira, and Cruces had boasted a booming sugar industry. It drew former slaves, both male and female, as well as many agricultural workers, craftsmen, and smallholders. The notarial records in the Archive of the Province of Cienfuegos list for the communities from Lajas-Cruces alone, nearly four hundred black citizens who were trying to make money out of their legal titles to *haberes*. They mainly invested the money in agricultural production. Some 196 veterans of these 371 citizens were not born in the Lajas-Cruces region, nor had they been long-term residents there. They came from the jurisdiction of Cienfuegos or from the town of Cienfuegos itself, from the province of Las Villas and from the provinces of Matanzas, La Habana, Oriente, or Pinar del Río. They had mostly settled in Cruces, Lajas, or Palmira after 1899, just like Esteban Montejo, trying to start a new life. Again like Montejo, they often entered into clientage with white or black *caciques políticos* of the area. And after a short time, they too were disappointed with the politics of the Liberals around José Miguel Gómez,

just as Montejo was disappointed with them, when José Miguel became president in 1908. Not only were they disappointed with respect to the lack of equality of the races, but also with respect to the lack of support for smallholders and the harsh treatment they received when they demanded improved living conditions for workers in the sugar industry or other production areas (Scott, forthcoming).

In 1912, in the jurisdiction of Cienfuegos alone, one hundred black and mulatto men, many of them veterans, (and most) agricultural workers, peasants, and some young urban people, seem to have, like Esteban Montejo,¹⁹ participated in armed protest in support of the PIC. As in other Cuban provinces outside of Oriente, this protest was more or less marginal (Bronfman 1997). Montejo and some of his black friends were quickly sent to jail but were also quickly set free again via an amnesty that the Liberals hastily granted.²⁰

NOTES

1. In Germany the book was published in its seventh edition in 1995 under the title: *Der Cimarrón. Lebensgeschichte eines entflohenen Negerklaven aus Cuba, von ihm selbst erzählt*. I am grateful to the "Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft" whose financial assistance made it possible to undertake this research and to Orlando García Martínez, director of the Archivo Provincial de Cienfuegos, for generously sharing with me unpublished materials, ideas, and for his help and support. I owe the idea for this article to Rebecca Scott, and the colleagues at the colloquium on "Race and Politics at the Turn of the Century: Cuba 1895-1917" at New York University, Ada Ferrer and Alejandro de la Fuente. My sincere thanks go to Rebecca Scott for sharing ideas and information, Martin Franzbach, Karin Schüller, Matthias Perl, Ulrich Fleischmann, and Barbara Potthast-Jutkeit for their helpful criticism, suggestions, comments, and remarks on a draft of this article. For translations of this text I am grateful to Delia González-Afonso and Eithne Carlin.

2. Moreno Friginals 1967; Tardieu 1984; Luis 1989, 1990; Fleischmann 1990; Walter 1992b; Hennessy 1993; Wentzlaff-Eggebert 1993; Franzbach 1994; Graden 1996.

3. A comparative research project on the integration of former slaves into the political culture of the post-slavery period in Brazil, Cuba, and Venezuela, funded by the German Scientific Research Foundation (Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft) commenced in 1993. Neither Barnett nor his book were in any way the reason for choosing the area in Cuba which happens to be Esteban Montejo's field of activities, the hinterland of Cienfuegos. This classic sugar region which at the end of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth century boasted the largest sugar factories (*centrales*) attracted many free black agricultural workers after the abolition of slavery and after the War of Independence against Spain.

4. Barnett (1983a:27; 1983b:52) himself had seemed at times to substantiate this supposition writing that the principal character of the *Cimarrón* was "the language."
5. Barnett (1996:30) has written that in Montejo's Baptism certificate "Ginongo" and "Susana Lucumí" appear as the parents. In the narrative Montejo presents them as his godparents. It is doubtful that Esteban Montejo appears in this certificate with the two names "Esteban y Mera," as Barnett maintains on the same page.
6. This is known as *Yndice*, recording the names of about 74,000 veterans. This official list contains only two bearers of the surname (*primer apellido*) "Montejo" who served in units in which also our *cimarrón* did his service. Neither of those has "Mera" as second surname (*segundo apellido*). In the Second Brigade of the Second Division ("Brigada de Cienfuegos") one can find under the number 41463 the name "Morejón Mesa, Estéban ... [padres] Alfredo, Emilia ... soldado 3-12-1895." Rebecca Scott, who informed me about this name, Orlando García Martínez, and the present author, are inclined to think this refers to Montejo; see *Yndice* 1901:589.
7. In which "Esteban Montejo y Mera" and two other bearers of a first surname "Montejo" with other second surnames are mentioned: "Montejo Basulto, José ... De sol. á capitán ... 2,649.33" and "Montejo González, Pedro ... De sol. á cabo ... 741.33." *Gaceta Oficial de la República de Cuba*, Apéndice al N-42, La Habana, martes 18 de agosto de 1903, pp. 314-15.
8. We have analyzed 816 notarial records of former soldiers of the ELC in the Lajas-Cruces region; 371 of them were Afro-Cubans.
9. *Gaceta Oficial de la República de Cuba*. Apéndice al N-42, La Habana, martes 18 de agosto de 1903, p. 312.
10. Andrés María González y Mora, from July 1, 1900 to June 1901 *Primer Teniente Alcalde* (mayor) of Lajas. He was a merchant of Spanish descent.
11. Archivo Provincial de Cienfuegos (APC), Protocolo Domingo Váldez Losada, tomo 8 (enero y febrero de 1904), Escritura 148, 27 de febrero de 1904, folio 555r-56v.
12. APC, Protocolo Domingo Váldez Losada, tomo 9 (marzo de 1904), 3 de marzo de 1904, folio 683-84v.
13. APC, Protocolo Domingo Váldez Losada, tomo 10 (abril-mayo de 1904), Escritura 437, 16 de abril de 1904, folio 1304r-05v.
14. "Yesterday the following insurgents were condemned as rebels and sent to jail: Estéban Montejo, Domingo Mora, Saturnino Benítez, Cándido Martínez and Benito Canutillo."... "[t]he complete list of the individuals who have been declared rebels ...: Simeón Armenteros, Juan Morales, Manuel Labrado (a) Lico; Arcadio and Tomás Benítez; Alejandro Pérez; Felipe Acea (a) Caoba; Secundino and Doroteo Acea; Estéban Torriente; Luis Campos; Máximo Montalvo; Manuel Madruga; Ricardo Cabrera; Estéban Montejo; Domingo Mora; Saturnino Benítez; Candido Martínez; Benito Canutillo." (*La Correspondencia*, May 27, 1912:5)

15. Graden (1996:6); referring to Luis (1990), has argued that "Barnet understood that an analysis of the Race War ... would not be acceptable to the Cuban revolutionary government."
16. APC, Protocolo Domingo V. Losada ,tomo 12, julio de 1904, folio 2439r-2442r. Eduardo Guzmán was a captain of the former liberation army in the division under the command of José de Jesús Monteagudo who formed part of the group around Major General José Miguel Gómez.
17. United States National Archives, Record Group 395, Records of U.S. Army Overseas Operation and Commands, 1898-1942, Army of Cuban Pacification, Military Intelligence Division, Entry 1008, File 79, Item 30.
18. Montejo (1970b:58-60) defends the program of the Independientes de Color in the novel *La canción de Rachel* (Luis 1990:214-15).
19. Archivo Nacional de Cuba, Secretaría de la Presidencia, leg. 110, N-2, Expediente referente a los alzamientos de negros, dirigidos por el partido independiente de color, encabezados por Evaristo Estenoz y Pedro Ivonet; fecha: Habana, Santiago de Cuba, Pinar del Río, Guanajay, 17 de junio a 9 de septiembre de 1912, 2 vols.
20. There are good reasons for the supposition of Aline Helg (1995:202 and n. 41, n. 43) that there at first was an "agreement" between the leaders of the PIC, first of all Pedro Ivonet, and the president José Miguel Gómez. This "agreement" was intended to ensure the re-election of José Miguel Gómez. But the agreement did not work; see Archivo del Museo de la Ciudad, La Habana, legajo 68, expediente 39, número del documento 397,001, letter from Pedro Ivonet to José Miguel Gómez, Santiago de Cuba, February 2, 1910.

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THE UNTOUCHABLE *CIMARRÓN*

Biografía de un cimarrón has attracted many articles, criticisms and even essays, all aimed at pinpointing neglected aspects of slavery in our country. The book met with a positive reception and has been regarded as a pioneering work in terms of the method followed. It should not be forgotten that the book was published in 1966, before Truman Capote had written *In Cold Blood*. I was the one who suggested publishing that book in Cuba to Alejo Carpentier. In the end I translated it into Spanish and added a preface. This book aroused a great interest in me. To a certain extent, I found some similarity between it and my *Biografía de un cimarrón*, which had already been published.

As I have stated at various universities and public forums in which I was invited to take part, the model I followed for *Biografía de un cimarrón* was not Truman Capote's book, nor the work of Oscar Lewis. I found it in the book *Juan Pérez Jolote* by the Mexican writer Ricardo Pozas (Mexico City, 1947). In my opinion, it is a paradigmatic book which has been very important for contemporary literature and anthropology because it introduced a very innovative method, at least for Latin America. The book presents the life cycle of a native Chamula, but following a very strict scheme. In spite of that, it is a very important book for the modern anthropology of our continent. That book had its predecessors in the Russian factography of the early twentieth century. Various pieces of research had been carried out in Russia in the first two decades of the century that used the testimony as a resource, as a raw input, for the writing of oral history. This contribution by the Russians is worthy of recognition. In addition, some North American anthropologists had carried out research among the native peoples at the end of the last century.

I wrote *Biografía de un cimarrón* at a time of great importance and under very favorable circumstances in Cuba, because there was a need to record the history of our country. A successful revolution had taken place which had changed many values, and it was necessary to record history from a new perspective. And that was simply what I did, with the assistance of anthropology and also with my calling and vision as a poet and writer. I believe that to a certain extent the latter helps to prevent anthropological studies from remaining at the level of monographs, diagrams and a few conclusions. They should get a bit closer to the heart of things, to what Balzac called "the soul of words and the spirit of society." That is what I wanted to demonstrate, and in the light of the reception of the book I seem to have been successful. Over the years the book has become compulsory reading for university students in various parts of the world (especially in Latin America, the United States, Germany, and France). It has already run to sixty-nine editions, and the seventieth, accompanied by illustrations, will shortly be appearing in the United States.

Esteban Montejo was a real person, a character who really did exist. I started interviewing him in 1963. He had a tremendous aura: the tragic aura of having been a slave and the much more tragic aura of having been a *cimarrón* or runaway slave. He lived a solitary life, on his own, in the mountains of Cuba, in the caves, in the canyons, in hiding for more than fourteen years. Afterwards he acquired a rather more epic aura after having taken part from the first in the War of Independence as a simple soldier among the troops led by the black captains, whom he followed and obeyed. Among them was major general Antonio Maceo, since we know that Esteban Montejo took part in the famous battle of Mal Tiempo, which is described in the book.

All these circumstances, adventures and misadventures turned Esteban Montejo into a legendary or mythical persona. I believe that when people possess that mythical dimension, they become *noli me tangere*, untouchable. The myths and legends go beyond history and its categories. They can only be explained from a poetic point of view. To try to explain Esteban Montejo today, from this position, on the basis of archival documents – taken to throw light on the subject – on a specific, public, general life, to use sweeping terms, seems to me to betray the mentality of a lawyer, or of a provincial historian – which is very valid, by the way.

On the other hand, I think that the historian Michael Zeuske, with the best intention in the world, went into the archives with his lantern to look for a series of documents to determine whether Esteban Montejo was a real person or not. Zeuske's mistake is to have done so thirty years after

the book had become a classic and a highly mystical theme. The second mistake was to suppose that he was the one to discover that documentation. The documentation in no way affects the book or the personality and moral and aesthetic nature of Esteban Montejo. But Zeuske set out to portray Esteban Montejo starting from 1904 or 1905, more or less the period when what I called part one of *Biografía de un cimarrón* ends. I did not write part two because, as the Spanish saying goes, "the second part is never good."

Zeuske did not come to discuss his research with me. If he had come to talk with me and had said: "I'm discovering the Mediterranean, I'm discovering rice with milk or warm water," I would have said, "Look. I have got shoe-boxes (at the time when I was doing my research on Esteban Montejo we did not have computers, cassettes or any of the resources in use today) with all the documentation there is on Esteban Montejo from 1902 to 1960 or so. Until he entered the Veterans Home in October 1940." But Pedro Deschamps Chapeaux – the historian who helped me to carry out this research – and I realized that this information had none of the interest that Esteban Montejo's life had in terms of events which were genuinely decisive for the history of Cuba.

One of these sadly decisive events is slavery, and within slavery the mountain life of a Maroon. They were neglected chapters because the historians had studied slavery from the factographic point of view and on the basis of the existing documentation, with a bias. But this is the first time in the history of Cuba that a person who lived through historical events as important as slavery, the life of a Maroon, the War of Independence, tells his story from his own angle, from the point of view of the "people without history," of the dispossessed and abandoned, and above all, from the perspective of a black and his world view.

That, in my opinion, is the major innovation of the book. To have focused on the end of the War of Independence – because 1898, as you know, is a date which marks a turning-point in history – not only in Cuban history, but also in the history of the United States and of Spain. To have stopped at the end of the last century or in the early years of the twentieth century (1902, 1904, with the establishment of the Republic) and to have demonstrated how eloquently and profoundly he expressed the frustration that the establishment of the Republican system meant for this country, because this was when the robbery and corruption started. In fact, it did not start then, it came from the Spanish colonial period, but it started among the Cubans themselves who had been officers in the War of Independence and who were gradually becoming more and more corrupted until they turned this Republic into what it became up to the dictatorship

of Fulgencio Batista. An act of mafia, of perversion, of corruption. With a prominent intellectual component, with very honest personnel, even with a few honest men in government, but, generally speaking, a corrupt regime.

I am not criticizing Zeuske's work. What I think is that he should have consulted me beforehand, because I could have helped him a lot. I was not interested in writing a second part to *Biografía de un cimarrón*. This was because it was a life lacking the charisma, the luminosity that characterized Esteban's life when he was a slave, a *cimarrón*, and a soldier in the Cuban army. Although he was living in slavery, the things he says, as a young slave, about the life of the Maroons, relations between different races and sexes, is all new for the history of Cuba. If I had continued the text up to the 1910s, 1920s and 1930s, it would have brought down the level of the book. I am talking in purely aesthetic terms. If you cannot understand this perspective, if you are unable to grasp this aesthetic dimension – where a work stops – then you make a big mistake: the serious mistake of damaging, minimizing, doing violence to myths.

I think it was a good idea to stop Esteban Montejo's history in 1902 or 1904 because that is where the chronological life begins, the strictly chronological aspect of his life, with events devoid of importance. The exception is his participation in the "Guerrita del 12," where he demonstrated his fighting spirit, his virility, his patriotism, and his black consciousness, his racial feelings in favor of the blacks who were interrogated and persecuted by the government of José Miguel Gómez in 1912, with the famous case of the "Guerrita de los negros," led by Evaristo Estenoz and Pedro Ivonet, which started in the eastern provinces and had repercussions all over the island, especially in the southern zones in the province of Las Villas, and which Esteban Montejo then joined – this black who had been a slave, a Maroon, a *mambí* – as an officer to face the troops led by José Miguel Gómez. I believe that this was a very important event. But perhaps it was the only important event in the life of Esteban Montejo after the War of Independence and the end of the book. The rest is a grey, murky life, as "normal" as that of any other citizen or worker. He rejoined the San Agustín sugar cane company as a cutter and earned a living as a *mambí* or soldier.

Michael Zeuske's article points out that Esteban Montejo asked for an advance of 400 dollars or so because he needed the money to buy a small plot of land. Yes, it is all true and I knew about it, not only from the archives, but from the lips of Esteban Montejo himself. Because my relationship with Esteban Montejo was a symbiotic, emotional, and profound one. And that is another reason why I am hurt and annoyed by the

vulgarization of the figure of Esteban Montejo with these details and these reports from a solicitor or provincial historian. I am not saying that Zeuske is a provincial historian, because he does not criticize the book anywhere. On the contrary, he says that the book is a classic. But he does not realize that he is a historian and I am a poet, a writer who shares and uses the tools of anthropology because that is what I studied. And that is the difference between him and me. With a lot of respect for Zeuske, I think that his article is interesting, it has a documentary curiosity for people like those lecturers who analyze *Biografía de un cimarrón* in their universities. They will discover some minor, unimportant details of the everyday life of a black Cuban who lived clandestinely as a Maroon, but nothing more.

What does this add to the book? That is the historical and anthropological point of view. I think it does not add anything. To know that Esteban Montejo took part in the "Guerrita del 12" weighs him down more, adds more categories, fills him out. So he bought some property, he was a friend of Guzmán, a member of the government of José Miguel Gómez. Yes, he was a friend of Guzmán, and Guzmán gave him money, and Guzmán was in José Miguel Gómez's government, but later on he rose up against Gómez. And he had to pay him because he had been a soldier, and all the soldiers were paid. They were paid around 900 dollars (it ought to have been 1,000 dollars, with the taxes which were paid at the time).

Esteban Montejo was a victim of corruption. He was a victim of racism during the Republic. He was a victim of his own history. And of his own legend. Because when he went looking for work, everyone knew he had been a slave; that he had been a Maroon; that he had fought in the "Guerrita del 12"; and they refused him work. Like so many other blacks who fought in the War of Independence, he was a victim of his own history. Of the history which he forged with his sensibility, with his talent, with his worth and his sense of liberty (rather than patriotism, of spiritual liberty, of liberty from the more personal point of view). Because I cannot say that, when Esteban Montejo joined the *mambí* troops he had a sense of the Cuban nation: what he wanted was liberty. Slavery had been abolished in 1880, but not for him. He came down from the mountain sixteen years later, because he was reticent and mistrustful. He was a man who lived reticently all his life. He was a man who lived all his life with that reticence, with that mistrust of others. Because he was the victim of discrimination right down to his dying day. Even in the Veterans Home. He had been a *mambí*, he had received the medal for being a *mambí*. It was after the book was published that he received all the honors here, but in

the Veterans Home he was a black who had been a slave, who had been a Maroon. And the other white *mambí* troops who were there and who had been officers in the war regarded him as something extra, as one negro more.

So I really do not know what value this essay by Zeuske will have in throwing light on these matters. I am telling you, I have a lot more documentation and I own the land in Santa María del Rosario that he bought with his earnings (it took him forty-six years to pay it off). Three years before he died, we arranged the transfer of property with a solicitor and a lawyer and he gave me that plot of land. I later gave it to the Revolutionary Defence Committees, and there is still a kitchen garden there for the neighborhood in Santa María del Rosario, because I did not do anything with that land. He gave it to me. He saved up all his life for it. Esteban Montejo never held an important position in the Republic. He was always a cane-cutter, a school porter, working in different jobs, but nothing compared with the life he had in the last century; that is what I wanted to mould with a sense of the epic and with an anthropological vision.

At any rate, yes, Zeuske's article does contain some interesting details, especially, indeed, the matter of the "Guerrita del 12." He says that I wiped out sixty years in Esteban Montejo's life. He is right. I did it deliberately. I meant to wipe them out. The sense of time, for me, is something relative. Sometimes one day in the life of a person is more important than ten years: one day. That is why the book has a mythical arrangement instead of a chronological one. In other words, the chapters deal with events which had a decisive importance and significance in the history of Cuba, such as slavery, the Maroon stage, the War of Independence, and the establishment of the Republic. The rest is an ordinary life, dull and perhaps even more painful and sad than the period of slavery. Because at least when he was a slave he was a fighter. He was fighting against his slave status. And he showed it by going to the Maroon mountain when he was fourteen years old. And when the army was organized in 1895 he immediately joined the liberation forces.

Afterwards, with the exception of 1912 when he took part in the "Guerrita de los negros" against the law of Morúa Delgado, his life was much sadder and much more desolate than the life he had lived as a Maroon and as a slave. Because he could not fight against that corrupt structure. He had to follow Franz Kafka's dictum: "in your fight against the world, support the world." He had to support the world. And to live that life in the Republic like everyone else, because he could not fight within that system. As for those who did fight, if they were blacks, they

were shot. So why should I have told the story of that life? If that life was not like the other one, which had a poetic, almost magical connotation. Perhaps a legal-minded historian would not understand that. I believe Zeuske lacked that vision. When Claude du Font, the French translator of my book, asked Esteban Montejo – in my presence – what was the finest period of his life, he answered: “When I was a slave.” And when Claude du Font went on: “How is that possible, Esteban, when you were a slave?”, Esteban replied: “Yes, because I was young.” That is the spirit that I wanted to bring into the book. There it is: not history as an archive, as documentation, as factography, but history as resonance – the music, the background of history.

At any rate, I am very pleased that the *New West Indian Guide* – a journal that is almost as old as Esteban Montejo – has been publishing for over seventy years now. Let it publish Zeuske’s article, because it brings a lot of things back to life and historians will discover that Esteban Montejo was first and foremost a man of flesh and blood, although for me Esteban Montejo means something different. He is a value, an inspiration, the spirit of the Maroon, the implacable spirit of the rebel. And that spirit lives in me. I am not talking about spiritism – I am not a spiritist – but it is a spirit of combat and struggle that lives in me. And I believe that if I got through to Esteban Montejo it was because I was looking for that. And he was waiting for me. He was waiting for me, because I met him in 1963, when I was 22 years old and he was 106. No historian, no writer, no anthropologist had approached him in the 1910s, 1920s, 1930s, 1940s, 1950s, 1960s. He was waiting for me. I looked and I found. But the Esteban Montejo I was looking for, whom I found, recreated, and gave to the anthropological literature, is not the Esteban Montejo who appears in the archives, is not the Esteban Montejo that Michael Zeuske was looking for. That is the problem. He was looking for Montejo and I was looking for Esteban.

Esteban Montejo’s life was very interesting. Esteban Montejo is associated with the party; he was a founder of the Communist Party of Cuba, along with Julio Antonio Mella, in San José de las Lajas. When Mella founded the party here, in Havana, in 1925, cells were set up in the rest of the island, and Esteban Montejo was one of the militants, in the Communist Party cell in San José de las Lajas, in the municipality of Cruces. He appears in the list of the thirty or so founders of the party there, in the same year in which the Communist Party was founded. In other words, he was becoming aware. Why didn’t he join the Liberal Party? Why didn’t he join the Conservative Party? He was always a Maroon, he always said

what he liked. When I took Antonio Núñez Jiménez, president of the Academy of Sciences, to see him, he was wearing a captain's uniform. Esteban Montejo asked him: "Why do you have a beard?" and Núñez Jiménez replied: "Well, because I grew that beard in the Sierra." Esteban answered: "Yes, but the Sierra's over now; you can get rid of your beard and uniform, because I did when the War of Independence was over." Núñez Jiménez kissed him and hugged him; he was delighted, and they became good friends.

I will not allow anyone to write the second part as long as I live. Because Esteban Montejo and I were very close. No one may write the second part while I am alive. First of all, because I have two shoe-boxes in my house, full of documents, and there are lots of things in the specialized archives. If anyone dares to write the life of Esteban Montejo, the second part, I'll kill him, I'll assassinate him, I'll become a terrorist. No one can touch Esteban Montejo. North Europeans don't understand that, but I'll kill him. I'll kill him, I'll have him killed; I don't know how to kill, but I'll have him killed. They can't touch Esteban Montejo. Yes, I'll grab a machete and chop off the head of whoever writes the second part of that book because it destroys the spirit and example that Esteban Montejo gave to the world. I'll kill him, I'm saying it as a warning. There can be no part two.

There is a young man here in Cuba, who was working in the Institute of Philosophy collecting material, but I have already warned him off. He has more documents than Zeuske: on the "Guerrita del 12"; on when Esteban joined the Communist Party; on everything he went through, all of it, but he hasn't got Esteban Montejo: he has to come and interview me. I can't stop him doing it. Well, if he publishes it, he knows I'll chop his head off before he publishes it, because it would be a double betrayal: of Esteban and of me. Anyway, not even the petal of a flower can touch myths. It's not just my decision. Esteban Montejo's spirit is so strong that he won't allow anyone to write that second part. He won't allow it. He'll place obstacles in their path.

I don't know what I will do with all the documentation. I have never thought about it. But I have a lot more documentation than what you will find in Zeuske's article. For example, I have the complete Communist Party convention, I have all the documents from the 1930s, when he took part in the struggle against Machado; when he was porter in the Covadonga clinic, when Rubén Martínez Villena was seriously ill there. Esteban's visits to Martínez Villena; Martínez Villena's conversations with him. I

have it all. But I did not want to talk about that, I did not want to bring that up.

It is a very hard, very sad, very frustrating life. Besides, he was miserably cheated by the American companies as well. They never gave him a worthwhile job; he never had his due. Take his funeral, for example, I have described it all: the day he died; the people who were there; the person he entrusted the arrangements to, a black lawyer. The dozen or so *mambises* who were still alive went to the funeral. But the arrangements were in the hands of a black, a friend of his, a lawyer, who transferred the plot of land to me. I have all Esteban's impressions of Antonio Maceo, Máximo Gómez. Esteban was a very good friend of Máximo Gómez junior, the son of Máximo Gómez, who used to visit him in the Veterans Home. It is interesting material, but it is not as important as the period of slavery, his life as a Maroon, and the War of Independence, which is what I dealt with in the book.

There should be a critical edition of the book to include that material; but it must be a large-scale critical edition to include Zeuske's article and everything like that.

There is one thing I wonder: Where is Esteban Montejo? Is he in Michael Zeuske's Esteban Montejo, or is he in the Esteban Montejo in the book *Biografía de un cimarrón*? Where is the real Esteban Montejo?

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*Based on an interview with Gert Oostindie, Havana, September 12, 1997. Translated from the Spanish by Peter Mason.

CHRIS BONGIE

FRANCOPHONE CONJUNCTURES

Decolonizing the Text: Glissantian Readings in Caribbean and African-American Literatures. DEBRA L. ANDERSON. New York: Peter Lang, 1995. 118 pp. (Cloth US\$ 46.95)

L'Eau: Source d'une écriture dans les littératures féminines francophones. YOLANDE HELM (ed.). New York: Peter Lang, 1995. x + 295 pp. (Cloth US\$ 65.95)

Postcolonial Subjects: Francophone Women Writers. MARY JEAN GREEN, KAREN GOULD, MICHELINE RICE-MAXIMIN, KEITH L. WALKER & JACK A. YEAGER (eds.). Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1996. xxii + 359 pp. (Paper US\$ 19.95)

Statue cou coupé. ANNIE LE BRUN. Paris: Jean-Michel Place, 1996. 177 pp. (Paper FF 85.00)

Although best remembered as a founding father of the Negritude movement along with Aimé Césaire, Léopold Senghor was from the very outset of his career equally committed – as both a poet and a politician – to what he felt were the inseparable concepts of *la francophonie* and *métissage*. Senghor's has been an unabashedly paradoxical vision, consistently addressing the unanswerable question of how one can be essentially a "black African" and at the same time (in Homi Bhabha's words) "something else besides" (1994:28). In his "Eloge du métissage," written in 1950, Senghor ably described the contradictions involved in assuming the hybrid identity of a *métis* (an identity that offers none of the comforting biological and/or cultural certainties – about "rhythm," "intuition," and such like – upon which the project of Negritude was founded): "too

assimilated and yet not assimilated enough? Such is exactly our destiny as cultural *métis*. It's an unattractive role, difficult to take hold of; it's a necessary role if the conjuncture of the 'Union française' is to have any meaning. In the face of nationalisms, racisms, academicisms, it's the struggle for the *freedom of the Soul* – the freedom of Man" (1964:103). At first glance, this definition of the *métis* appears as dated as the crude essentialism with which Senghor's Negritude is now commonly identified: in linking the fate of the *métis* to that of the "Union française," that imperial federation of states created in the years following upon the end of the Second World War with the intention of putting a "new" face on the old French Empire, Senghor would seem to have doomed the *métis* and his "rôle ingrat" to obsolescence. By the end of the decade, the decolonization of French Africa had deprived the "Union française" of whatever "meaning" it might once have had. The uncompromisingly manichean rhetoric of opposition that flourished in the decolonization years (and that was most famously manipulated by Fanon in his 1961 *Wretched of the Earth*) had rendered especially unpalatable the complicities to which Senghor's (un)assimilated *métis* was subject and to which he also subjected himself in the name of a "humanism" that was around this same time itself becoming the object of an all-out assault in France at the hands of intellectuals like Foucault.

A rendezvous with the dustbin of history would thus appear to be the only logical fate for the compromised vision that Senghor put forward in his 1950 "Eloge." And yet, notwithstanding the undoing of the "Union française," Senghor's *éloge* has, it can be argued, assumed a new relevance in our own age – a post-revolutionary age in which the apocalyptic dreams of decolonization and the manichean assertions of Fanon (or at least the Fanon who wrote *Wretched of the Earth*) have been exposed as empty "meta-narratives" that cannot adequately come to terms with the complexities of our postmodern and ambiguously postcolonial condition. Far from ushering in a new age and (in Fanon's words) a "new man," decolonization merely aggravated the problematic state of affairs to which Senghor was responding in his *éloge*: neocolonial institutions, multinational corporations, and transglobal media have taken up the relay of colonial power, promoting an ever greater mixing of cultures that, viewed from one angle, can be thought of as ("good") postcolonial creolization and, viewed from another, as ("bad") postmodern homogenization. In our fin de siècle world of entangled "relations" (to recall the central term of Edouard Glissant's cross-cultural poetics – see Glissant 1990), in which it is quite simply not possible – at least in good faith – to draw Fanonesque lines in the sand between the (neo)colonial and the truly decolonized, the

ambivalent stance of a Senghor has recovered its "meaning." On the one hand, the identitarian arguments that underwrote his concept of Negritude are once again fashionable, be it in the ludicrous form of pseudo-scientific appeals to the power of melanin or in the apparently more "reasonable" but equally essentialist guise of a multiculturalism that (re)actively promotes (racial, ethnic, national) "differences." On the other, in contradiction with this renewed emphasis on discrete identities, we are also witnessing a revival of interest in the *métis* and the translational process of creolization through which this "impure" subjectivity is constituted – as witness, say, a work like the *Eloge de la créolité* by the Martiniquan writers Jean Bernabé, Patrick Chamoiseau, and Raphaël Confiant (1989).

What is the connection between this simultaneous turn (back) to identity politics and to *métissage*, and what, if anything, binds these two *éloges* together? The most obvious, and superficially attractive, response is that the connection is quite simply one of absolute difference: between the identitarian and the creolizing, between the assimilating colonial and the subversive postcolonial, there can be no common ground. Thus, for many a critic, *métissage* as argued for by the likes of Glissant and the advocates of Créolité offers a radical challenge to essentialist thinking; it becomes a way of salvaging, in a minor key, the "transcendental" arguments of a revolutionary thinker like Fanon. Françoise Lionnet, for instance, has argued along these lines that a thinking of *métissage*, which allows us to "demystif[y] all essentialist glorifications of unitary origins, be they racial, sexual, geographic, or cultural" (1989:9), prepares the way for a rupture with the "hegemonic" colonial legacy and an articulation of "new visions of ourselves, new concepts that allow us to think *otherwise*, to bypass the ancient symmetries and dichotomies that have governed the ground and the very condition of possibility of thought, of 'clarity,' in all of Western philosophy" (1989:5-6). Seductive as this argument might be, I would suggest that the ambivalence of Senghor's praise of *métissage* – its inseparability from "old" identitarian claims and its self-conscious emplacement *within* a colonial world that cannot be simply "bypassed" – points toward a more realistic if less flattering understanding of the limits, and possibilities, of the creolizing perspective embraced in the more recent *Eloge*.

To assert the genealogical complicity of the two essays is not (simply) to argue that the 1989 version is as regrettably flawed as its 1950 prototype, that neither approach is sufficiently "transcendental": as we will see toward the end of this review article, the 1989 *Eloge* has indeed been subject, and increasingly so, to the charge that it remains disappointingly indebted to the identitarian (and masculinist) arguments it is supposedly

contesting in the name of a post-identitarian *métissage*, and that it has escaped neither the "clarity" of "Western philosophy" nor the "hegemony" of the French language and the metropolitan perspectives that attach to it. Rather, over and above such arguments, it is to venture that the problematic "conjuncture" with which Senghor, to his credit (or his discredit, depending on one's point of view), grappled in his "Eloge" and that are equally on display in Bernabé *et compagnie's* postmodern revision of it are not anomalies that can and must be "transcended" but the very "essence," as it were, of the *métis's* identity – an (un)assimilated identity that is contradictory and compromised, and that can only be understood in the context of its negotiations with(in) political and cultural structures (such as, to take but one example, the neocolonial governmental and linguistic complex known as *la francophonie*) that substantially limit its possibilities. As Senghor's comments about the *métis* suggest, moreover, it may well be an acknowledgment of these limits, rather than a belief in their transcendence, that prepares the way for a freedom that is truly *human* because never absolute, always relative.

The cultural "conjuncture" that made Senghor's francophone *métis* possible hardly lends itself to a conventionally heroic description, and this certainly poses a problem for critics in search not of ambivalence and complicity but of straightforward "resistance" and "subversion." In this respect, the title of *Postcolonial Subjects: Francophone Women Writers* is extremely revealing. What, we might well ask, is the relation between the words "postcolonial" and "francophone" being posited here? Rather than openly address the question, the introduction to this collection of essays treats the word "postcolonial" as self-explanatory, and with good reason: although the term has recently come under fire from certain "radical" quarters (see, for instance, Shohat 1992 and, for a response to her objections and those of similar-minded critics, Hall 1996), its connotations remain strongly "oppositional," and in privileging (without interrogating) this word, and attaching "francophone" to it, the five editors of *Postcolonial Subjects* attempt to insinuate the equivalence of the one with the other. In highlighting the (apparent) transparency of the oppositional term "postcolonial" and downplaying the existential and political complicities that have historically attached to the word "francophone," the editors are trying to redeem the latter from its rather checkered past. Depending upon one's point of view, this redemptive gesture may be an essential one that takes us "beyond hexagonocentrism" (p. ix) or simply an act of bad faith that allows U.S. academics to assert the special relevance of their chosen discipline.

What is certain, however, is that this redemptive move can only be attempted by stringently limiting the meaning of *la francophonie*: for the editors of this collection "it is not a shifting alliance of political states that constitutes the meaning of the word francophone but rather a common literary project of engaging, and often resisting, the language, culture, and history of France from perspectives that are culturally, ethnically, and ideologically distinct" (p. xiii). As far as these editors are concerned, the admirable "resistance" of the francophone writers under consideration, who all "participate in the subversion of European literary traditions and in various forms of cultural and linguistic *métissage*" (p. ix), has nothing to do with a patently compromised "alliance" of political states. In promoting this limited definition of the word, and the doubtful logic that simply equates "subversion" and "*métissage*" (rather than reading them as always being in potential contradiction with one another), the editors of *Postcolonial Subjects* are able to preserve something of the "transcendent" project that once engaged the likes of Fanon; just how the (supposed) discursive radicalism of these "subversive" writers can be translated back into the realm of a radical politics remains, to be sure, a question that goes unanswered in the pages of this book's introduction and, echoing Marx, one might well suggest that the "decanonical impulses" (p. xv) privileged in that introduction, as in so much contemporary theory, amount to little more than the "farcical" repetition of a revolutionary decolonization that has, in being thus imitated, lost much, and indeed perhaps all, of its original "meaning."

Subordinated to and equated with the "postcolonial" in the book's title(s), the word "francophone" is further redeemed there through its attachment to the phrase "women writers": these writers are "doubly" marginalized (p. xv), at an even further remove from a "French literary canon" that has made room, if grudgingly, for at least a handful of male writers, who have themselves (as the abstract nature of Senghor's humanism suggests) not always shown enough awareness of and sensitivity to the differences that constitute francophone women's varied subjectivities. Adamant that they are "not interested in promoting a reductionist, composite, female francophone 'Other' that would deny distinctions among these writers and their various cultural, historical, ethnic, and racial identities" (p. xv), the editors of *Postcolonial Subjects* have nonetheless, perforce, made some attempt at thematically organizing the "texts of an intriguing heterogeneity" (p. xiii) discussed in the collection's nineteen essays: the book is thus (in what could either be described as a productively subtle or a frustratingly loose manner) divided into three parts, entitled "Situating the Self: History, Rememory, Story," "Border Cross-

ings," and "Engendering the Postcolonial Subject." Preferable as this thematic organization might have seemed to the geographical one adopted, say, in Belinda Jack's recent and very useful survey of francophone literatures (1996), the relative arbitrariness (to say nothing of the predictability) of these categories nonetheless prevents readers from taking them too seriously.

In the context of the present review, it must suffice to list only those articles dealing with Caribbean material: a sturdy overview of Simone Schwarz-Bart's oeuvre (by Kitzie McKinney); an evocative account of the voodoo *loa* Erzulie's role in Haitian culture and literature (by Joan Dayan); a comparative account of the changing role of Africa in Maryse Condé's first two novels (by Christopher Miller); and, worthy of special mention, a thoughtful analysis of how the novelist Marie Chauvet, in *Amour colère folie*, gives expression to a textual violence that mimics and deconstructs the (racial, social, sexual, religious) violence of Duvalier's Haiti (by Ronnie Scharfman). Most of the other essays in the collection are likewise limited to particular locations (predominantly, Québec and sub-Saharan Africa), although a few rather desultory attempts are made at comparative francophone studies: Québec's Anne Hébert and Guadeloupe's Myriam Warner-Vieyra are, for instance, yoked together in one essay on the grounds that "the referential *hors-texte* of both novels is shaped by the social matrix of a patriarchal society in which women's lives are ruled by preestablished gender roles and definitions of womanhood" (pp. 124-25). Bland claims such as this exemplify the dangers of the comparative perspective that is championed, in theory, by the editors of *Postcolonial Subjects* but that, in practice, is markedly absent from the majority of these essays and (if the unproductive comparison of Hébert and Warner-Vieyra is anything to judge by) with good reason. After reading through this heteroclite collection of often competent although seldom enthralling essays (several of which have already been published elsewhere), one is not left with the sense of thematic cohesion, historical comprehensiveness, and intellectual purpose that characterized, say, a groundbreaking work like *Out of the Kumbla* (Davies & Fido 1990), which succeeded in doing for Caribbean women writers what *Postcolonial Subjects* aspires to do for francophone women but, in a failure of editorial vision that can be only in part attributed to the greater diffuseness of the field, signally fails to achieve.

It is a decidedly different version of francophone literature by women that gets explored in *L'eau*. Less fascinated by the subversive potential of her field, Yolande Helm has seen fit to include discussion of a number of Swiss, Belgian, and even French writers in her book. Despite some overlap

in the authors treated (notably, Cameroon's Werewere Liking, Québec's Anne Hébert, Algeria's Assia Djebar), the thematic approach of this book sharply differentiates it from the "political" considerations generating the ostensibly trendier *Postcolonial Subjects*. Supplementing the familiar Bachelardian approach to water symbolism and its connections to the literary imagination with an attention to Hélène Cixous's (French) feminist insistence on this fluid "maternal metaphor," Helm's sturdy and sincere collection will be of little or no interest to the readers of the *NWIG*, since it contains only one essay on a Caribbean subject, Maryse Condé's novel *Traversée de la mangrove*, which according to Ellen Munley establishes a contrast between "waters that spring from the source and those that are deadened, stagnant" (p. 115). The reader who appreciates critical distinctions of this sort will not find a perusal of *L'eau*'s eighteen essays unrewarding; however, given its rather dated Bachelardian emphasis, one can be certain that this in some ways charmingly unpretentious collection of essays will make nary a ripple on the surface of francophone studies.

L'eau is the fourth volume published in Peter Lang's Francophone Cultures and Literatures series, and it is certainly an improvement over the sad effort that inaugurated this series: Anderson's *Decolonizing the Text* is, both in terms of physical volume and intellectual content, about as slim an offering as one can imagine and damning evidence of this publishing house's at times irresponsible (lack of) editorial policies. Larded with an appalling number of typos, carelessly and at times ungrammatically written, badly structured, *Decolonizing the Text* also features a number of egregious errors that one can only hope are simply the result of scandalously inadequate proofreading: discussing two books on African literature, for instance, Anderson notes at the outset of her own that they do not limit themselves to works written by Africans but "include certain writers from the Caribbean in their analyses, in particular Césaire (Martinique), Senghor (Sénégal) and Damas (French Guiana)" (p. 5) – an unexpected assertion of Senghor's Caribbean identity that takes the ethos of cultural displacement and *métissage* to which he was committed a little too far! What follows upon this less than auspicious beginning is a series of predictable, plot summary-ish accounts of francophone Caribbean works like Glissant's *La Lézarde*, Confiant's *Le nègre et l'amiral* and the *Eloge de la créolité* (which she reads as simply reiterating Glissant's poetics rather than, as much recent criticism has convincingly pointed out, adapting and distorting his views), as well as a plausible but poorly executed comparison of Chamoiseau's *Solibo magnifique* and Toni Morrison's *Song of Solomon*. For Anderson, francophone writers like Glissant "decolonize the text," whereas a French writer like Sartre in his "Orphée

noir" exoticizes and colonizes black poetry: although (as we will see) there are times when it may be necessary to remind ourselves that a "revolutionary" writer like the surrealist André Breton has "unconsciously colonize[d]" the Caribbean in his writings (p. 19), this simplistic binary opposition between "colonizing" and "decolonizing" texts, which informs all of Anderson's readings, can lead only to the most reductionist of interpretations. Shoddily written, uninterestingly argued, *Decolonizing the Text* is a book that should never have been published in its present form.

It is to another one of Anderson's glaring errors that we can turn as a way of leading into a discussion of the last book under review here. In one of her footnotes, she identifies Gilbert Gratiant as a "Martinican poet who wrote exclusively in creole and whose works were attacked as being folklorist by the writers of *Légitime Défense*," and refers us to Chapter 2 of Lilyan Kesteloot's seminal *Les écrivains noirs d'expression française* for corroboration (p. 64). Gratiant, of course, did not write exclusively in Creole, and it was precisely his early (1931) work in French, *Poèmes en vers faux*, that was attacked by Etienne Léro in 1932 in the pages of *Légitime défense* – not for being "folklorist" but for exhibiting a prudish, Parnassian "lyricism" that was, according to Léro, exemplary of the mulatto bourgeoisie's desire "to imitate a white man properly" (1996:55). Kesteloot is, moreover, very clear on the bilingual nature of Gratiant's poetic enterprise ("his French translations of his Creole poems are more lively, more vivid, in a word more poetic than the works written directly in French, and it is in these poems that Gratiant reveals his real personality" [1963:313]).

Kesteloot's distinction between a "real" Creole and a presumably "inauthentic" French personality is, to be sure, a heavily ideologized one. Nevertheless, the critical consensus has indeed been that Gratiant was, in Kesteloot's words, a more "inspired" writer in Creole than in French; it is wrong, however, to characterize (as Anderson does) his work in Creole as "pre-Négritude" (p. 62). To speak of Gratiant as being "overshadowed by the works of those who would follow – the *Négritude* poets" (p. 48) is to gloss over the entanglements of a much more complex chronology, for Gratiant's Creole poetry is produced in the very same decades as that of his compatriot Césaire's most influential works. Gratiant and Césaire can and must be read not only in terms of diachronic progression (as part of a direct line that leads from a regionalist *doudouisme* to Négritude, and thence from Glissant's Antillanité to Chamoiseau and Confiant's Créolité) but of a synchronic mirroring in which all of these apparently contradictory positions are conjoined to, and readable in, one another. It is a version of this same unlikely mirroring that Gratiant gestured toward

within his own oeuvre when in the late 1940s he published a number of his Creole poems, under the title *Fab' Compè Zicaque*, as the second half of a book that began with a "poème en français," the *Credo des sang-mêlé, ou Je veux chanter la France*, an assimilationist *éloge* of his own hybrid identity and the "conjugation" of Europe, Africa, and America that made him possible ("Je conjugue, métis / La fierté d'être homme de France ... Et [la] fierté d'être Nègre ... Oh! double appartenance que la France harmonise ..." [n.d.:13; *Métis*, I unite: the pride of being a French man ... and the pride of being a Black ... a double belonging that France harmonizes]).

Complicitous pairings of this sort (Gratiant/Césaire, Creole/French) constitute the difficult territory identified at the beginning of this essay as the (im)proper place of Senghor's (un)assimilated *métis*. Senghor's own double, and contradictory, allegiance to Negritude and *métissage* would, as it turns out, find expression in the account of Gratiant that he offered in his influential 1948 anthology of "black poetry." In his headnote to the selection of Gratiant's Creole poetry that he included in this anthology (accompanied by translations of it into French), Senghor not only problematizes the already canonical literary history that would insist upon *Légitime défense* as the first truly original Franco-Caribbean cultural movement – on the basis of the admittedly "timid" journal *Lucioles* (1927), which for "perhaps the first time affirmed the cultural originality of the Antilles," Gratiant is referred to as "the spiritual father of the first literary movement worthy of this name" on the French islands – but also identifies Gratiant's work as in some respects a more apt expression of Caribbean realities than, say, Césaire's (who, along with Léro, is the other Martiniquan represented in the anthology): "he has produced several poems in the Martiniquan patois," Senghor notes, "that are the most authentic expression of the Caribbean's hybrid soul [*l'âme métisse des Antilles*]" (1948:29). Authenticity here proves for Senghor not merely or even primarily a function of some essential blackness but of a productive *métissage* that with Gratiant makes its brief and anomalous appearance in an anthology that otherwise valorizes a seemingly purer – and altogether more virile – vision of blackness. (Significantly, Gratiant is not mentioned once in Sartre's preface to the anthology, "Orphée noir," where "the Black" is revealingly identified as "the great male of the earth, the sperm of the world" [1948:xxxii].) What can one learn from this hybrid "authenticity" that puts into question the authenticity of Negritude and that, as Senghor recognizes, is absent from the poetry of his friend Césaire? What can one make of this *âme métisse* whose presence can only be accounted for through a coming to terms with, rather than a simple expulsion of, the

“parasitic hybrid caste” and the “aborted fruits of a decrepit culture” against which Léro (1996:58) raged in the name of a “legitimacy” that, one might suggest, has become rather less defensible, if no less seductive, in our ever more creolized, ever more bastardized, post-revolutionary age?

For the authors of the *Eloge*, who have excoriated what they see as the anti-creole Negritude of modernist predecessors like Senghor and Césaire, there is much to be learned from the example of Gratiant: because of his valorization of both the Creole language and the identity of the *métis*, he is a writer who, as Chamoiseau and Confiant put it in their *Lettres créoles*, “opened up potentially one of the richest veins of our Creole literature” (1991:111). While stressing the ultimately identitarian nature of his conception of *métissage* (as Confiant points out in his recent book on Césaire, implicitly commenting on the lines from the *Credo* cited above, “in the end, his conception leads once again back to the One, to a new Caribbean being, the harmonious product of a double or a triple *métissage*” [1993: 116]), Chamoiseau and Confiant are more than willing to acknowledge their debts to this indubitably minor and assimilationist literary predecessor, and this willingness – coupled with Confiant’s oedipal attacks on a major “revolutionary” figure like Césaire – might well be construed as evidence of their own compromised position as writers. Certainly, as the critical tone of some of the essays in the recent collection *Penser la créolité* attests (see Condé & Cottenet-Hage 1995), the *Eloge* is a more problematic, and less “transcendent,” document than it might have appeared upon first publication, and its authors have come under a certain amount of fire for, among other things, their covert investment in identitarian politics, their supposed masculinism, their insufficiently “revolutionary” outlook, and their close links to metropolitan publishing houses. No one has voiced such criticism with more passion than the French poet and literary theorist Annie Le Brun, author of a good many books written in praise of “subversives” like the Marquis de Sade. I would like to close this review article with a brief survey of her acrimonious pamphlet *Statue cou coupé*, in order to gesture one last time toward the complexities and complicities of the francophone “conjuncture” for which I have been arguing here.

Incited by Confiant’s less than respectful book on Césaire, “the demolition of a man whom I considered one of the greatest poets of this age” (p. 11), Le Brun first made her views on the ideology of Créolité and its “ideologues” known in her 1994 *Pour Aimé Césaire*. If she devotes most of her energies in that first work to an impassioned reading of and plea for Césaire’s poetry, this second intervention greatly expands upon her

critique of the authors of the *Eloge*: the first two-thirds of *Statue coupée* is taken up by a conference paper that Le Brun gave in Fort-de-France in early 1995 as well as by her comments on Confiant and Chamoiseau's vitriolic "mind-your-own-business-French-lady" reactions to this paper and an elaboration of her objections to them. Gracefully admitting to her Martiniquan audience in the middle of her paper that "it's not for me to tell you what's Creole and what isn't" (p. 31), and restricting her comments on Césaire to his work as a poet (a rather significant omission, given that Confiant's book was written in reaction against what he feels have been the disastrous consequences for Martinique of Césaire's ambivalent politics, and that his discussion of Césaire's poetry was in large part simply a foil for condemning policies that certainly do not exhibit the "force of insubordination" [p. 18] that she so cherishes in Césaire), Le Brun repeatedly chides those who would dare to take the "wrong" side by criticizing a "revolutionary" artist like Césaire, and offers a critique of Confiant *et compagnie* that can be broken down into three main points.

First, in an offensive manner that reminds one of nothing so much as Léro's aggressive attacks on Gratiant, Le Brun questions both the intellect and the literary talents of her adversaries, speaking of "the insignificance of their arguments and, to say the least, the mediocrity of their novelistic production" (p. 12). If the likes of Confiant and Chamoiseau have gained a readership and won literary prizes (a real badge of dishonor in Le Brun's eyes!), this can only be, she argues, because their ideas and novels serve the interests of the powers-that-be. Citing Milan Kundera's influential 1991 article on Caribbean literature, which paid special tribute to Chamoiseau (paving the way, in Le Brun's account, for the positive reception of the Martiniquan's soon-to-be-published and eventually Prix Goncourt-winning *Texaco*), Le Brun identifies it as part of a conspiracy of French publishers in the early 1990s to launch a "new exoticism" (p. 84). The success of this media conspiracy, the consecration of "mediocre" writers, and the consequent occlusion of Césaire's purportedly less complacent francophone vision, cause Le Brun to throw up her arms in despair: "what is one to think of a certain Europe that, along with all of those whose taste it has managed to colonize, is in such a state as to prefer the sham goods of this new exoticism to the greatness of Césaire – and even worse, to no longer know how to tell the difference between them?" (p. 126). Telling the difference between Césaire and these "Caribbean epigones" of Milan Kundera (p. 115), she asserts, is not "a question of taste, it's a question of heart" (p. 126), and clearly, Le Brun's heart is in the right place! Stripped of the insults and the paranoia, Le Brun's point about the theory and practice of Créolité being inseparable from a new

and media-constructed exoticism is not, however, without merit. Are Chamoiseau and Confiant not playing to and entrapped by the French literary market, and to what extent can any francophone writer escape this trap and still gain some measure of success? Might not the work of these two prolific authors be a little less "mediocre" if rather than blasting out product at the rate of a book a year they spent somewhat more time crafting their oeuvre (a question that could itself be turned against Le Brun, who has written many a tome, as she puts it in a book on Sade, "quickly, very quickly," spurred on by "a strange interior haste" [1986:322], and who in *Statue* proudly claims to have written the pamphlet *Pour Aimé Césaire* in ten days [p. 11]).

Equally valid, up to a point, is her second main criticism of Confiant and the authors of the *Eloge*: despite their rhetoric of hybridity and inclusiveness, they are in practice very dogmatic and exclusionary when it comes to their "likes and dislikes" and their "dos and don'ts." This authoritarian tone can be at least in part accounted for by the fact that, as she put it in *Pour Aimé Césaire*, "the inventors of Créolité are imitating ... those who champion a new American moral order" (1994:20). Le Brun elaborates upon this claim at length in *Statue*: in accusing Césaire of not being "créolement correct" (p. 39), Confiant and the other "followers of this new sect" have transformed themselves into "witch hunters" who are "thus imitating the rabble who are behind America's moral revival, tracking down everything that's not 'politically correct'" (p. 38). The long-standing *ressentiment* of French radicals with regard to the United States gets metonymically transferred onto the shoulders of these *Français d'outre-mer*, whose repeated calls for her to mind her own (white woman's) business are cited as evidence not only of their mimetic attachment to the "lies of multiculturalism" (p. 15), which ultimately promote mindless conformity rather than true diversity (p. 121), but quite simply of their racism and sexism, which find expression not only in their counter-attacks on her (pp. 59-60) but in the anti-semitic (pp. 62-68) and anti-mulatto (pp. 68-70) sentiments that have occasionally surfaced in interviews with Confiant and in his journalistic writings and that cause Le Brun to speak at several points of his "*national-créolisme*" (pp. 40, 63). Notwithstanding Le Brun's simplistic scapegoating of "political correctness," there can be no question that Confiant and Chamoiseau have not taken kindly to any criticisms of their work or their ideas and that they have shown a penchant for anathematizing their opponents that has perhaps more to do with the sort of strong-man tactics that have long dogged Caribbean political life than with the current obsessions of moralizing U.S. academics. Be that as it may, if it is legitimate to ask, as

Confiante and Chamoiseau do, what right the white, French, non-creole-speaking Le Brun has to comment on their "family" quarrel with "Papa" Césaire, to "colonize their text," it is equally legitimate to point out that denying her this right ("it's a black, Caribbean, Creole thing, you wouldn't understand") not only testifies to a "stalinist" intolerance (p. 171), but is in obvious contradiction with their post-identitarian rhetoric – a conjunction of identity politics and *métissage* that is thus as basic to Chamoiseau and Confiante as it was to Senghor. (How) can one *legitimately* choose between these two positions? Such is the (unanswerable but inescapable) question that the Le Brun-Confiante debate raises with a clarity and intensity that will make this exchange one of the obligatory points of reference in both francophone and postcolonial studies.

The authoritarian conduct of the anti-authoritarian advocates of Créolité is symptomatic of a larger contradiction at work in the poetics of creolization that the authors of the *Eloge* are, in the wake of Glissant, promoting – a contradiction that Le Brun sums up (and this is the third main point of her critique) in the phrase "*totalitarisme soft*" (p. 41). Glissant's enthusiastic advocacy of diversity – his emphasis on creolization, relationality, and chaos – serves only to mask, according to Le Brun, the spread of a "globally generalized Club Méditerranée" (p. 43): the author of *Poétique de la Relation*, in a more subtle and productive but no less dangerous way than disciples like Chamoiseau and Confiante, is fiddling while Rome does not so much burn as transfigure itself into a seductively "soft" gulag. Asserting that "it is difficult to see in this patchwork ideology, in each of these different phrases 'creolization of the world,' 'chaos-world,' or *tout-monde*, to cite Glissant's terms, anything more than an elaborate cover that serves to camouflage the [negative] realities we are living" (p. 41), Le Brun aligns these Caribbean advocates of *métissage* with "reactionary" thinkers in France: "it's illuminating that their arguments about the creolization of the world coincide with those of the 'dominant thinking,' which, from Julia Kristeva to Michel Serres and all the rest of what's chic in Paris, without even mentioning America and its penchant for correctness, is aiming through their apologies of diversity towards a standardization of the world that could not be more catastrophic" (p. 42). For Le Brun, the thinking of "diversity" and cross-cultural "relations" ultimately amounts to a renunciation of real difference, a capitulation to "la pensée dominante," and the consecration "of a world reduced to a supermarket of changing tastes, where everyone can choose the cultural gadget appropriate for the whim of the moment" (p. 42). This vision of a compromised and compromising global supermarket, and the threat of cultural homogenization that it poses, is one with a long history: a

commonplace since at least the time of the French Revolution in both conservative and revolutionary critiques of modernity, it has been equally prevalent in the countless objections that have been made over the past several decades against a leveling postmodernity. If Le Brun's invocation of this vision in her attack on what some might want to interpret as a "transcendent" postcolonial alternative to modernity is salutary, this is not because it directs us back to the subversive radicalism that she wants to privilege in opposition to Glissant's complicitous "chaos-monde," but because it reminds us that this creolized and creolizing world, in all its relational complexity, is one that simply cannot be read unilaterally (be it positively, as with Lionnet, or negatively, as with Le Brun).

In making this critique of creolization as a concept that colludes with global homogenization, Le Brun not only identifies parallels between "diversifying" Caribbean thinkers and "reactionary" European ones but emphasizes – in a move that is reminiscent not only of Léro but also of V.S. Naipaul – the extent to which the authors of the *Eloge* are mimic men, enslaved by (the wrong) European ideas: "it's hardly astonishing that these manufacturers have as their intellectual point of reference the fashionable European values of the likes of Roland Barthes and Umberto Eco, whereas by contrast Césaire – whom they never stop denouncing for his attachment to Western values – relied on those who, from Rimbaud to Breton, by way of Schœlcher, Frobenius, Leiris, or Lautréamont ... have the most radically questioned these values. That's to say," she adds, in case there might be any doubt as to the identity of these heroic Europeans, "those who have shown us that freedom cannot be manufactured but only invented, dangerously, and that there is no other path that can be taken if a point of view is to become a vision" (p. 45). Once again, Le Brun's sarcastic emphasis on the hypocrisy of Westernized thinkers accusing a writer like Césaire of being Westernized is extremely well taken (as is her frequently repeated assertion that in order to be logically and morally consistent the authors of the *Eloge* ought to have published it in Creole), but the inadequacies, and the totalitarianism, of her own thinking is equally in evidence in a passage such as this. Be like Rimbaud or else! There is no other way to transform your point of view into a vision! Le Brun's disdainful references to "the manufacturers of ideology, their flatterers and their adherents, eager to stuff themselves with certitudes," as she put it in the first pamphlet (1994:22), are all very well and fine but when push comes to shove she is as filled with certitudes as the next man or woman and, in her own small way, as "homogenizing" as the dominant system she so sanctimoniously rejects: Schœlcher, Rimbaud, Frobenius (!) – all engaged in one and the same struggle! These are the good guys, who

have truth on their side: men (always men!) like André Breton, whose embarrassingly romanticized *Martinique charmeuse de serpents* (1948) is lovingly and naively offered up over the course of twenty pages (pp. 129-49) as an example of "his refusal of exoticism" (p. 132), without even the slightest nod to the possibility that it might also be infused – as it most certainly is – with risible and objectionable exoticizing and colonial stereotypes; but most of all, men like the Marquis de Sade, virtually indistinguishable as far as Le Brun is concerned from Toussaint Louverture, whose "intellectual integrity" he shares (p. 161) and who, like the divine Marquis, was committed to "denouncing the snares of humanism" (p. 158) and combating "the lie of Enlightenment" (p. 163). Taking up the last third of *Statue*, the chapters on Breton and "the strange objectivity whereby the Sadian exception and the black revolution of Saint-Domingue link up with one another" (pp. 151-64) are a distressing, if unintentionally humorous, example of the lengths to which (French) intellectuals will go in the attempt at establishing their "subversive" credentials, and readers with the slightest sensitivity to postcolonial issues will doubtless find the credibility of Le Brun's pamphlet badly damaged by their inclusion.

Self-important, paranoid, hyperbolic, ridiculous, patronizing ... all of these adjectives could be applied to various patches of *Statue cou coupé*; on the other hand, the authors of the *Eloge*, and Confiant in particular, do not come out of this trans-Atlantic encounter smelling particularly rosy either. This vitriolic struggle between a certain France and a certain Martinique, which itself re-plays (as I argue in my forthcoming *Islands and Exiles: The Creole Identities of Post/Colonial Literature* [Stanford UP]) the debates that pitted the "compromised" mulatto abolitionist Cyrille Bissette and the "radical" French politician Victor Schœlcher against one another in the 1840s, will not result in the moral victory of one or the other. There can be no definitive choice between these two sides, between the (self-)righteous violence of the French critic's "pure," revolutionary, and yet also (neo)colonial discourse, and that of her francophone opponents who, as Le Brun has convincingly demonstrated, and as their own critical practice has so often (if not always intentionally) revealed, occupy the same resolutely "impure" middle ground of conjuncture and conjugation envisioned by the (un)assimilated likes of Senghor and Gratiant half a century ago. As I have attempted to suggest here, it is on this ambivalent (lack of a) ground that the difficult but necessary enterprise of francophone literature(s) situates us, in opposition to and in dialogue with the various subversive and transcendent "academicisms" that would

betray the uncertain liberty of the *métis* in the name of their inhuman, all-too-human certitudes.

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JOHANNES POSTMA

SLAVERY, RELIGION, AND ABOLITION IN SURINAME

"Om werk van jullie te hebben": Plantageleven in Suriname, 1730-1750. RUDI OTTO BEELDSNIJDER. Utrecht: Vakgroep Culturele Antropologie – Bronnen voor de Studie van Afro-Surinaamse Samenlevingen, 1994. xii + 351 pp. (Paper NLG 35.00)

Surinaams contrast: Roofbouw en overleven in een Caraïbische plantagekolonie 1750-1863. ALEX VAN STIPRIAAN. Leiden: KITLV Press, 1995. xiii + 494 pp. (Paper NLG 60.00)

Strijders voor het Lam: Leven en werk van Herrnhutter broeders en -zusters in Suriname, 1735-1900. MARIA LENDERS. Leiden: KITLV Press, 1996. xii + 451 pp. (Paper NLG 65.00)

Fifty Years Later: Antislavery, Capitalism and Modernity in the Dutch Orbit. GERT OOSTINDIE (ed.). Leiden: KITLV Press, 1995; Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1996. viii + 272 pp. (Paper NLG 45.00, US\$ 22.50, Cloth US\$ 45.00)

The publication of the books under review is evidence of a growing scholarly interest in the history of Dutch activities in the Atlantic. Three of them are doctoral dissertations on Suriname history; the fourth contains the published proceedings of a conference held in 1993 that focused on the abolition of slavery in the Dutch colonies. Three were published by the Royal Institute of Linguistics and Anthropology (KITLV), which exhibits an increasing interest in publishing scholarly books about Dutch overseas history.

Neither the country of Suriname nor its history are well known outside the Dutch-speaking world. Named after a river that flows into the Atlantic from northern South America, the Suriname plantation colony was started by the British during the mid-seventeenth century. It was captured by the Dutch in 1667, and soon it became the largest Dutch slave plantation colony. While Suriname has often been cited as an example of extremely harsh slave exploitation, a thorough scholarly examination of this claim through historic documents had not previously been undertaken. This is particularly true for the eighteenth century, and the books under review make a giant leap toward filling that void.

Because the slaves were the "linchpin" of the Suriname plantation society, Beeldsnijder places them at the center of his study. Three-fourths of the book is devoted to the slaves, including their Atlantic crossing, African origins, work on the plantations, labor supervision, food and housing, family relations, illness and mortality, resistance to oppression, and treatment by the legal system.

Recognizing that the slaves operated within the bounds and under the control of the plantocracy, Beeldsnijder devotes his first three chapters to the world of the planters, looking at how the plantations were operated and what crops they produced, as well as analyzing the supervisory structure that governed the Suriname plantation society. It was difficult to attract Dutch settlers to tropical Suriname. By 1700 there were barely a thousand Europeans, including several Jewish and foreign colonists and military personnel. The white population doubled during the century, but in the meantime the slave population tripled from 17,000 to about 50,000. Sugar was initially the main crop produced for export to Europe, but by the middle of the century the export of coffee beans surpassed that of sugar. Beeldsnijder also provides a valuable description of the revenues exacted from Suriname's inhabitants.

With his focus on the slaves, Beeldsnijder devotes considerable attention to their African origins, their forced migration from Africa, and the high mortality among the newcomers in comparison to Creoles. He also stresses the significance of African cultural survivals among the slaves in Suriname. Relying heavily on numerous plantation inventories, he makes an assessment of the work that slaves were forced to perform. He concludes that 64 percent of the slave force could be classified as unskilled, 21 percent were not capable of work, and nearly 15 percent were skilled or in supervisory positions. The various skilled and unskilled tasks of the slaves are carefully defined and evaluated. Women had comparatively fewer opportunities than men for supervisory or skilled positions on the plantations. Due to the relatively small European population in Suriname, slaves

were provided with an unusually high number of leadership positions, albeit always under white supervision.

The planters were aware that slaves had to be fed well if they were to work effectively. Slaves were fed better in Suriname than in most Caribbean plantation societies, according to Beeldsnijder. Fertile soils and the absence of hurricanes may have favored Suriname in this respect. Food rations were regularly issued to the slaves, and slaves were often allowed to have their own private gardens. Specialized produce plantations were established from which planters could purchase food that they did not raise themselves.

Death rates were extremely high among Suriname slaves, despite the fact that most plantations had rudimentary hospital facilities. Yet infant mortality rates were nearly as high in Europe at that time, according to Beeldsnijder, and death rates among slaves elsewhere in the Caribbean were similar to the Suriname figures. Male slaves outnumbered female slaves by about 25 percent during the 1730-50 period. Due to high death rates and low birth rates, the slave population had to be sustained by constantly importing slaves from Africa, which kept a gender imbalance of 4-3 intact during the first half of the eighteenth century.

Slaves tried in many ways to defend themselves against exploitation and to resist their masters. Some sabotaged crops, ran away, or committed suicide. Very rarely did they organize a concerted revolt in Suriname. The unsuccessful 1750 revolt at Bethlehem plantation is the only one documented for the 1730-50 period. Slaves must have recognized the futility of such endeavors, and the Suriname system of justice was more concerned with their punishment than with their protection. Eighteenth-century justice was severe everywhere but unlike white convicts, slaves in Suriname never received clemency, Beeldsnijder claims.

The fact that Beeldsnijder limited his analysis to two decades allowed him to provide more detailed analysis, but it restricted his ability to show patterns of change. The wealth of new information about the lives of the slaves, their identities, and their achievements makes this book a valuable contribution to the study of Suriname history. It is well researched and documented and has an English summary.

While Alex van Stipriaan's *Surinaams contrast* follows Beeldsnijder's work chronologically, it covers a much longer period of time (1750-1863) and has a broader focus that encompasses the whole range of the plantation system of Suriname. After discussing the slave plantation literature and outlining the problem, van Stipriaan presents an instructive historical overview and analysis of the colony's political-economic structure. He rejects the widely accepted interpretations of a static society in constant

decline and portrays instead a more dynamic, constantly changing world in which the tendencies toward exploitation and survival were constantly at odds with each other. Plantations were often expanding, shifting from one territory to another, or being abandoned. Van Stipriaan discusses the soil and climate and provides a detailed description of how plantations were developed in Suriname, with special emphasis on the use of water and hydraulic technology in the coastal regions, where plantations were increasingly located. He gives a careful analysis of capital investments such as slaves, buildings, and machinery, and then discusses the production process of coffee, sugar, and cotton, the most important tropical products from Suriname's plantations. While Suriname started with sugar as its chief crop, coffee and cotton were added during the eighteenth century, and each production sector experienced its own cycle of change. Van Stipriaan argues that in each of these sectors, innovation and modernization were essential to survival, and that in this respect Suriname was much like other Caribbean plantation societies. Unfortunately, he does not include cacao production in his analysis.

In the second part of the book, van Stipriaan explains how the Suriname plantation system was financed, giving special attention to Dutch financing schemes (*negotiatiefondsen*) during the third quarter of the eighteenth century, and later also financing with British and local Suriname capital. He makes a convincing case for downplaying the impact of the 1772-73 Amsterdam stock market crash on Suriname's economy. In his analysis of profits from the Suriname plantation economy, he sees losses as well as profits, with the latter increasingly consumed by the plantation owners' conspicuous consumption.

In examining the management of plantations, van Stipriaan focuses on the roles of black overseers (*bastiaans*), white officers, plantation directors, and administrators. Black overseers played a particularly crucial role as middlemen between the slaves and managers of the plantations. Where the merchant-bankers in Holland had been able to exploit Suriname through their financing schemes, the administrators were able to benefit handsomely from the system of absenteeism during the end of the eighteenth century and into the nineteenth.

The demography of Suriname prior to slave emancipation has never been satisfactorily analyzed, but van Stipriaan provides one of the best studies to date on this complex subject. Slave imports, population growth, mortality, natality, and fertility are all carefully examined chronologically and compared by different production sectors. Despite the fact that slave mortality always exceeded births, he concludes that Suriname's harsh slave system was comparable to that of other Caribbean slave plantation

societies. Epidemics, particularly during the 1820s and 1840s, were devastating for the slave population, but after the mid-nineteenth century there appears to have been an amelioration in the survival rates of the slaves. The latter may have been the result of improved labor and living conditions. Gradually, van Stipriaan claims, the "iron fist" of the owners and managers came to be outfitted with a "glove" as a result of government regulations, improvements in working conditions and medical treatment, private garden plots, and slave resistance.

Van Stipriaan's book represents an ambitious undertaking that will undoubtedly become a classic in Suriname historiography. It merits an English translation.

The Moravians (Herrnhutters) or Evangelical Brothers, a pietistic German religious denomination, played an important role in christianizing Suriname slaves and their descendants. In *Strijders voor het Lam*, Maria Lenders narrates and clarifies the activities of the missionaries from a feminist and gender-oriented perspective. Starting with an introductory chapter on the foundation and ideology of the Moravians, she describes and analyzes their activities in Suriname in three chronological phases, 1735-1825 (including neighboring Berbice), 1825-63, and 1863-1900. Although the Moravian missionaries were few in number and their activities were limited to Paramaribo and missions among the free Maroon and indigenous Indian communities, they were initially resented by the white ruling class of Suriname. After 1825, the missionaries gained the support of the governmental authorities and were allowed to proselytize among the slaves on several plantations. This brought both an increase in missionaries from Germany and a tremendous increase in converts. The abolition of slavery in 1863 started a new phase in Suriname history, including religious history. Building on their prior activities, the Moravians continued in their role as ministers, teachers, and health care providers. Gradually, they began to experience serious competition from Catholic missionaries, because Moravians insisted on a stricter moral code of behavior in marital and sexual relations among their converts.

In theory, the Moravian missionaries were quite egalitarian in racial matters, but they were nevertheless infected with cultural value biases that made them view non-European Surinamers as inferior, although they did so with pity and valued them as human beings. The attitudes of most other European whites in Suriname could clearly be categorized as racist. Since the Moravian missionaries were German and rarely mastered the Dutch language, they conducted their proselytizing activities primarily in Creole (*Neger-Engelsch*). This became a detriment to their activities toward the

end of the nineteenth century when the authorities demanded that Dutch be used in all educational institutions receiving government subsidies.

Lenders convincingly documents a shift in attitude and practice among the Moravian missionaries between the eighteenth and the nineteenth centuries arguing that they evolved from a communal to a more individualistic outlook (substituting nuclear family meals for communal meals), and from lay leadership to a more professional and specialized leadership. Women had played a prominent and decisive role during the early years and in times of crisis, but over time their work became increasingly limited to ministry among women. Nineteenth-century Moravian male missionaries increasingly relegated their wives to household and child rearing activities, a familiar trend in Western societies. Women retained a few professional posts, such as in teaching and health care, but always under male supervision.

According to Lenders, gender, race, and social class were all determining factors in assigning value and position in society, and this was increasingly the case in Moravian circles as well. Black women ended up at the bottom of the scale, viewed as untrustworthy and as sexual temptresses. Black women were prone to keep their traditional pagan beliefs and reject formal marriage ties. Yet many more women than men joined the Evangelical brotherhood, an apparent conflict that is not addressed by Lenders.

While the Moravians tended to be critical of slavery, they did not advocate its abolition. Their concern was mainly with the life of the "spirit" and salvation of the "soul." Although they encouraged masters to treat their slaves humanely, they also advised the slaves to be obedient to their masters. Because they themselves became slave owners, Moravians held back in advocating the abolition of the slave system.

Lenders has written an interesting and readable book. She has managed to bring out the human dimension of the individual Moravian missionaries, the tragedies that befell many of them, and their hard work and dedication to their ideals and beliefs. Her extensive use of correspondence and autobiographical accounts sheds light on various aspects of Suriname history that are often lacking in the official documents surviving from those years, and allows her to illuminate, not only the missionaries, but also various elements of Suriname society and history.

Fifty Years Later is a compilation of essays that grew out of a 1993 conference on the belated Dutch abolition of slavery in 1863. Touching on all regions of the Dutch maritime empire as well as the global phenomenon of abolition, this book has a much broader scope than those reviewed above. Still, Suriname constitutes one of the largest entries in its index. Seymour Drescher, a prominent scholar on the subject of abolition

history, provides the lead article, "The Long Goodbye," to which nine other scholars presented their responses. The key issue of the conference and the published essays was why the Netherlands was so much later than Great Britain in ending slavery in its overseas possession. As Drescher writes, "The Dutch case presents us with the following relevant conundrum: a society identified as a pioneer of modern capitalism from the early seventeenth century, one unencumbered by serfdom for centuries more before that, yet one that failed to generate a major antislavery movement by the standards of the age" (p. 51).

Drescher's articulate presentation had few detractors among the nine commentators, responding from their own areas of expertise. The economic motive in Dutch emancipation resurfaces repeatedly in the ensuing discussion. Maarten Kuitenbrouwer argues that nineteenth-century Dutch politics was dominated by elitist politicians, who retarded the process of emancipation. Angelie Sens stresses that a "decline-ridden" mentality in the Netherlands pushed antislavery concerns into the background. Edwin Horlings posits an economic explanation of the belated emancipation in Suriname. Alex van Stipriaan claims that emancipation might have been postponed further, had it not been for slave pressure and rebelliousness. Gert Oostindie compares slavery in Suriname with that in Curaçao, and points to an evolutionary development toward a "civilizing and patronizing practice" (p. 169), gradually preparing an acceptance of abolition.

The next three essays add to the comparative approach of the abolition issue by introducing the eastern regions of the Dutch colonial empire. Robert Ross takes readers to Dutch South Africa, discussing trends and ideas regarding slavery and emancipation and the role of Christian missionaries in that region. Gerrit Knaap addresses Indonesia, the former Dutch East Indies, introducing the Dutch system of forced labor under the so-called "cultivation system." In an intriguing essay, Pieter Emmer compares trends and ideas about free and coerced systems of labor in the West Indies and the East Indies (India and Indonesia), including both British and Dutch practices, during the nineteenth century. Stanley Engerman concludes the collection of essays with a world-wide comparison of slave emancipation over many centuries of history.

By taking a close look at the Dutch experience, this study broadens our view from the traditional British/French emphasis in antislavery history. One of the decisive conclusions that can be drawn from this publication is that the British were pioneers in the abolition of slavery, and that the Dutch were in line with other continental European and American countries rather than latecomers.

One of the drawbacks of published conference papers is repetition, and this book is no exception. On the positive side are the extensive and up-to-date bibliographies appended to each essay.

All of these publications make valuable contributions to various categories of the human experience. But in particular, they illuminate the history of European expansion by giving Dutch colonial history a fitting place. Above all, these publications make a tremendous contribution to the historiography of Suriname. Since three of the books are in Dutch, the remaining task is to make these scholarly works available to a wider audience.

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BOOK REVIEWS

Haiti, History, and the Gods. JOAN DAYAN. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995. xxiii + 339 pp. (Cloth US\$ 35.00)

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Joan Dayan sets herself the ambitious task of examining the social fabric of Haitian life during the French colonial period, focusing particularly on the social dynamics of the Haitian Revolution from 1791 to 1804, the year of Haiti's independence. She examines the composition of the society, life among the ruling colonists, the responses of the slaves to their brutal captivity, and the heroic character of their leaders who inspired them to resist oppression.

The title would lead one to think that this book was an historical account of the birth of a nation, but in fact it is not. It is primarily a literary work that is speculative about Haitian colonial society. Rather than relying on the usual historical sources, Dayan utilizes little-known texts: eyewitness accounts, secret letters, diaries, memoirs, folk stories, and legends. She also makes extensive use of current cultural patterns that she encountered during her ethnographic research in Haiti, which she sees as originating in the colonial period. She also borrows images from literary fiction (such as Marie Chauvet's untranslated works, *Fond des Nègres* and *La folie* among others) to create in the imagination of her readers the social situation of eighteenth-century Saint Domingue.

The book has three parts as the title suggests. And although Dayan relates events in Haiti's colonial life, she notes that she is neither con-

cerned about the historical sequences of events, nor aiming to be conclusive about these events. She allows the voices of those on whom she relies to tell Haiti's history, to speak freely and without hindrance, for these voices can never be encapsulated in "a chronological grid or clarifying summary argument" (p. xi). Moreover, she examines the same events in all three parts of the book, and provides different perspectives on them and their representative figures. She warns her readers that its parts should be read as "superimpositions that reinforce one another," and makes no attempt to provide a unified point of view of these events. "I tell the same story again and again," she notes, "in different ways. Readers might well ask: 'why do we have to step in the same waters twice, three times?' I answer that the communion I intend in this narrative is much like a ritual. The more a detail, a scene, or theme is repeated, the more of its meaning is established" (p. xv). Her reference to a ritual is fitting, for just as a ritual is repeated in infinite ways to bring its participants to another spiritual realm, Dayan transports her readers to colonial Saint Domingue and treats them like observers of an unfolding drama, full of complex paradoxes as seen through the eyes of witnesses, including herself as the narrator.

Dayan's interest in Vodou stems from her reading and from her own encounter with it. She suggests that Vodou has played a major historical function in Haitian culture as a repository of religious traditions in Haiti's cultural history, and is not merely an agent that facilitated the retention of African traditions. Haitian culture develops out of a continuous process of dialogue between African, European, North-American, and other cultures on Haitian soil. Hence, like Haitian literature, Vodou is a product of Haitians' inventive genius which is part of the people's resistance against oppression, of their reinterpretation of white myths of domination, and of the development of a hybrid culture, a process that Dayan calls *creolization*. She examines Haiti's literature and history in light of the creative modes of this creolizing process.

A significant contribution of this book is its exploration of women's role in Haitian society. Few books provide such a wealth of information on female figures during and after the colonial period. The list is too long to mention here but it includes Marie-Jeanne Lamartinière, Claire Heureuse, Defilé, and others.

Dayan has written a captivating book about the country that is not only her place of probable ancestral origin, as she notes, but one to which she has devoted detailed ethnographic study. She understands the country's culture and knows its people well. The book, skillfully written and extremely well documented, has comprehensive and helpful notes, but lacks a bibliography. An appendix provides a useful chronology of the

events in the relations between Haiti, the United States, and France. I recommend this book as a solid, scholarly work that provides a creative approach to Haiti's history and culture, one that recounts an old story in a refreshing new way. It is clear, logical, and easy to follow. But it also assumes the reader's extensive prior knowledge of Haiti's history.

Spirits, Blood, and Drums: The Orisha Religion in Trinidad. JAMES T. HOUK. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1995. xvi + 238 pp. (Cloth US\$ 49.95, Paper US\$ 18.95)

Old Ship of Zion: The Afro-Baptist Ritual in the African Diaspora. WALTER F. PITTS, JR. New York: Oxford University Press, 1993. xvi + 199 pp. (Cloth US\$ 35.00, Paper US\$ 14.95)

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You a go tired fe see me face,
Can't get me out of the race.
(Bob Marley, "Bad Card," 1980.)

I am reminded of these lines by the continued interest in the problem of African continuities in the so-called New World first tackled in a serious way by Melville Herskovits. Despite the many conceptual and historiographical difficulties,¹ his pioneering efforts remain of great value among scholars of the African diaspora, not so much because he was the first, but because the issues of cultural configuration and origins are still of central concern, particularly to Caribbean-born scholars (see Yelvington 1994). This conclusion is evident in these two most recent additions to the corpus of studies on African diaspora religion.

Houk, who became a drum player and initiate in Orisha, starting from the highly questionable position of exchanging "money, goods, or services for information and assistance" (p. 11), provides the most important update on Orisha since the work of Frances Henry (Mischel 1957, Henry 1983) and Pollack-Eltz (1993) in the late 1960s. Houk's central goal is to show the multiple sources of influence in current Orisha. The African influence is clear enough – Yoruba-derived deities, prayers, functionaries, and rituals –

and so too is the Christian – Catholic saints and shrines, Spiritual Baptist (Protestant) baptism ritual and prayers. Of later provenance is the influence of Hinduism, which Houk dates to around 1950. Some Hindu deities, the most common being Hanuman, Mahabir, Lakshmi, and Rama, are found in Orisha, while the Orisha deity, Osain, “whose shrine is often surrounded with Hindu religious materials” (p. 88) is sometimes referred to as “the Indian man.” The final and most recent (1970s) source of influence on Orisha is Jewish mysticism, through the Kabbalah. Houk treats each source with an understanding derived from his ethnographic work, portraying Orisha as a seamless weave integrating all the known elements into one. Thus, in addition to the *perogun*, *chapelle*, and *palais*, an Orisha compound may include “a Spiritual Baptist church, a Kabbalah room, Kabbalah flags and stools, or occasionally a Kabbalah ‘tomb’ (a sarcophagus of sorts) as a focus of ritual activity” (p. 154), not to mention a flag or stool for a Hindu deity. The resulting portrait is that of a very dynamic system, which raises questions about the nature of this Yoruba-based religion. As Houk points out, some Orisha members, themselves conscious of an African origin, are part of a movement aimed at purging Orisha of what they conceive to be its non-African features, implying that “if they were to eliminate Catholic, Spiritual Baptist, Hindu, and Kabbalistic elements from the Orisha religious system, the remaining beliefs and practices would be purely African” (p. 188).

Not surprisingly, Houk agrees. For he uses conceptual tools like “Africanism,” “Africanness,” and “Syncretism” to develop a typology of Afro-American religions (p. 59) reminiscent of Simpson and Herskovits. Type I, which he labels “Highly Africanized,” includes such religions as Orisha, Kumina, and Vodou. Here the syncretism is strongly African, but moderately Catholic. Type II, “Highly Christianized” religions, are strongly Protestant with only traces of African. He cites Spiritual Baptist, Revival, and African American Spiritualist as belonging to this type.

The problem with this is the issue of how one conceives “African.” It is one thing to adopt or construct beliefs and practices thought to be “African,” but quite another to trace beliefs and practices to a common African origin as Herskovits attempted to do. The one is a self-conscious affirmation through the creative imagination of a belief or practice identified or thought of as being “African,” the other a part of an historical continuity, often unself-conscious, and the subject of quite a debate in diaspora cultural anthropology and history. In light of Andrew Apter’s explanation (1991) that syncretism is already a feature of continental Yoruba religion, not only of its diaspora manifestations, such concepts as “purely African” and “moderately Africanized” become questionable.

They assume some fixed and stable body of beliefs and practices and admit no borrowing from outside. Mawu, a Yoruba deity, was adopted into the Fon pantheon by the mother of eighteenth-century King Tegbesu of Agbome (Olabiyi 1993:254). Is the Fon pantheon "African" because the Yoruba are? What if the Queen Mother had adopted a European deity, as have the new African religious movements and churches like the Harrist movement in Ghana, Christ Apostolic in Nigeria, or Kimbanguism in Zaire? Are these less "African" for holding to some Christian-derived beliefs and practices? Clearly, there is a tendency to equate "African" with "traditional," which misses the internal dynamism that generates changes, and *Spirits, Blood, and Drums*, an otherwise valuable update, runs this risk.

Old Ship of Zion is equally concerned with explanation and equally influenced by Herskovits, but manages to avoid these conceptual pitfalls by seeking another level of analysis, that of structure. Pitts's interest in the Afro-Baptist churches was not just scholarly. He tells us that from the time he was a teenager he was drawn by the vitality and ecstatic nature of Afro-Baptist worship, which so sharply contrasted with that of his own Episcopalian church. He became a piano player for Afro-Baptist churches in Texas, from which position he maintained a participant observer role. Pitts's concern is to describe the two ritual frames of Afro-Baptist worship and to explain their significance. Afro-Baptist worship is in two parts, the *Devotion* and the *Service*. The first is marked by formal, standardized prayer, the *lining* of hymns (a slow and lugubrious style of singing, in which the hymn is called out line by line), and the use of Standard English. The *Service*, by contrast, has a quickened tempo, relies on spirituals, which are accompanied by handclapping and body movement, is loosely structured, and uses Black Vernacular English and chanting in the sermons. Possession seldom takes place in *Devotion*, but is encouraged in the *Service*.

What is the significance of these two frames? Why, as Pitts's informants told him, is the one a preparation for the other? Drawing on James Fernandez's concept of a metaphoric frame, Pitts constructs an explanation that involves seeing the two ritual frames as the retention of two discrete but connected African ritual practices, namely secret initiation rites and possession trance rites. The aim of the initiation rite is the creation, following ritual death and liminality, of a new person through the transference of secret knowledge, "which will make them 'adults' or spiritual mediums or mold them to other specific roles" (p. 115). The initiates are thus conditioned to respond to the specific drum beats which will trigger possession during possession trance rites, making them mediums of the spirits. Under the conditions of enslavement in the Americas, the Africans

did two things. They borrowed "the doctrines and ritual practices, including speech and song forms, of a new, somewhat strange religion, namely, Protestant Christianity, to create the content of their reinterpreted, esoteric frame" (p. 124), and they merged it with possession trance rites that developed out of the revival meetings that spread throughout the south from the middle of the eighteenth century. This explains why possession takes place or is encouraged only in the second frame.

The plausibility of this explanation is tested comparatively by Pitts, who finds that all the African religions throughout the Americas are indeed described in binary ritual frames of more or less the same character. Scholars of Vodou, Orisha, and Revival in the Caribbean will easily identify these frames but may not as easily concur with the explanation.

One of the attractions of *Old Ship of Zion* is the fact that Pitts's analysis takes place beneath the surface manifestations of religious ritual, at the level of "grammar," to paraphrase Mintz and Price (1992). This is where the search for continuities will be most productive. It is all the more regrettable that while the author is the first, to my knowledge, to note the binary ritual frames in African diaspora religion, his explanation remains largely conjectural and therefore not very convincing. But in the absence of any possibility for historical confirmation, conjecture could gain plausibility through other strategies. For example, if, as Pitts argues, initiation rites are so compelling as to require some form of ritual expression ("To forego the rites of religious initiation for a medium is analogous to a man's reaching maturity without the formal rites of puberty: he does not reach social adulthood though he may be quite old biologically" [p. 121]), then one would equally expect them to be incorporated in some form or other into those African religions that have been breaking away from the traditional religions and adopting Christian deities like Jesus and the Holy Spirit. This would require a similar structural analysis of these rituals. Should *Cherubim and Seraphim* in Nigeria, to take one, be found to have the same binary frames, the argument would gain greater cogency, even if it were not conclusive.

NOTES

1. For recent critiques of Herskovits, see Fernandez 1990, Apter 1991, and Mintz and Price 1992.

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Caribbean Theology. LEWIN L. WILLIAMS. New York: Peter Lang, 1994. xiii + 231 pp. (Cloth US\$ 43.95)

Rastafari and Other African-Caribbean Worldviews. BARRY CHEVANNES (ed.). London: Macmillan, 1995. xxv + 282 pp. (Cloth £40.00)

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Lewin L. Williams raises some important issues for the study of Caribbean religion. They can be seen at a glance in the table of contents of *Caribbean Theology*: indigenization, evangelization and missionary theology, for example. The chapter called "Interpretive Tools" promises to be the working heart of the book. Religion is not theology, of course. I understand theology to be rational and systematic interpretation of the ex-

perience of faith, or whatever term one chooses to signify the experience of communication with the divine. But to do theology theologians have to be clear about the religious context in which they do the work. So I would expect the author of this book to be clear about the kinds of religious experience that are characteristic of the Caribbean past and present.

That context is never clearly described in this book, even though Williams uses the word "contextualize" frequently. He is also facile with terms such as "self-actualization," "praxis," "liberation," and "culture." If these are supposed to be the conceptual bricks in his discourse, there is little concrete in the book to hold them together.

Part of the problem is Williams's meandering prose. His desultory ruminations do not allow him to develop any argument, or even to make a point, without distracting digressions. Another stylistic problem is that many passages are patchworks of block quotations of writers listed in the bibliography. Many of these writers are Williams's present or former colleagues at Jamaica's United Theological College of the West Indies, where he is deputy president. They have all made substantial contributions in Jamaica and abroad as teachers, preachers, scholars, and commentators on public affairs. But frequent and lengthy quotations of their writings become irksome interventions rather than helpful sources in Williams's already diffuse musings.

Caribbean Theology could have been more serviceable if it had been severely pruned to pamphlet size. Such a pamphlet, called perhaps "Notes Toward a Caribbean Theology," with tightly defined terms, a comparative synopsis of related projects such as Latin American liberation theology, and a clear focus on the diversity of Caribbean religious culture would have made a useful student text.

A more substantial weakness of this book is that it conveys a simplistic reading of Caribbean history and anthropology. Generalized presumptions about the center and the periphery and the conquerors and the colonized do not do justice to the complex interactions in Caribbean history and culture. A Caribbean theology constructed in the late twentieth century needs to give close attention to the inchoate theologizing in the sermons, letters, songs, stories, testimonials, signs, and symbols of Europeans, Africans, and Asians who were involved historically in the development of creole society and religions, as well as the experience of West Indians in the post-colonial era. Williams's book seems in many ways to have been inspired by an anti-North American or anti-Pentecostal position. The influence of North American directed Pentecostal churches calls for a rigorous critique, of course – the kind that Diane Austin Broos recently published in this journal (1996). But there is nothing rigorous in Williams's

book. The author needs to look outside the seminary, perhaps across the road to the Mona campus of the University of the West Indies, to the work on Caribbean religion done by past and present historians, sociologists, and anthropologists for the groundwork that is necessary to save the construction of a Caribbean theology from the theoretical vaporizings we are given in this book.

The kind of groundwork needed if we are to begin to think about God-talk in a Caribbean idiom is found in Barry Chevannes's *Rastafari and Other Caribbean Worldviews*. Chevannes has edited a collection of ten papers by seven scholars, all either sociologists or anthropologists. He contributes four of the papers as well as an introduction and an afterword. The introduction contains a definition of "worldview" (cosmology, ethics, and system of symbols) that is more adequate as a definition of theology than any formula in Williams's book.

The papers were selected from among those originally presented during a 1989 workshop in The Hague sponsored by the Institute of Social Studies, where Chevannes, of the University of the West Indies' Sociology Department, was Visiting Senior Research Fellow. The book is organized according to the structure employed in the workshop; Chevannes presents his research on aspects of the Rastafari of Jamaica and the other scholars respond on the basis of their own work on either the Rastafari or other aspects of the culture of religion in the Caribbean or the Caribbean diaspora.

Chevannes's analyses of the relationship between Rastafari and Revivalism, the content of Rastafari beliefs, leadership, and organization, the development of Dreadlocks culture, the sacralization of ganja, hair symbolism, and issues of race and gender, are richly detailed. The essays by Jean Besson ("Religion as Resistance in Jamaican Peasant Life: The Baptist Church, Revival Worldview and Rastafari Movement") and John Homiak ("Dub History: Soundings on Rastafari Livivity and Language") complement Chevannes's treatment. Besson's paper is based on extensive fieldwork in several villages in the parish of Trelawny in Jamaica. Homiak presents an intricate explication of how Rastafari linguistic innovations in Jamaican Creole reveal the originality of the Rastafari worldview. Ellis Cashmore's brief essay, "The De-Labeling Process: From 'Lost Tribe' to 'Ethnic Group'," describes the transformation of the Rastafari in Britain in the 1980s from a subculture of alienated rebels to an officially recognized ethnic group according to the terms of the 1976 Race Relations Act.

Two chapters on Suriname religion offer both contrasts and similarities to the Rastafari. In "African-American Worldviews in the Caribbean," H.U.E. Thoden van Velzen narrates the rise and demise of the 1890 Gaan Gadu anti-witchcraft cult among the Ndyuka Maroons. Wilhelmina van

Wetering examines transplanted Winti practices among recent immigrants in Amsterdam in "Demon in a Garbage Chute: Surinamese Creole Women's Discourse on Possession and Therapy."

Roland Littlewood's "History, Memory and Appropriation: Some Problems in the Analysis of Origins" offers a tightly argued case for viewing Rastafari and other forms of religious creativity throughout the history of African peoples in the Caribbean as manifestations of a tradition of opposition to established power in Western society since the beginning of Christianity.

Chevannes's essays in this book pre-date his earlier published *Rastafari: Roots and Ideology* (1994), and, in fact, were substantially woven into that monograph. Studying the essays after reading the monograph does not prove to be a redundant exercise, however. It is rewarding to see how Chevannes, in these essays, works toward conclusions less tentatively argued in *Roots and Ideology* on both Rastafari's novelty and its provenance in earlier African-Jamaican consciousness.

The lively discussion that, I imagine, must have followed the presentation of these papers at the 1989 ISS colloquium cannot be adequately conveyed on the page. But Chevannes's editorship provides a consistent voice in print that draws together comparative insights which might not initially be obvious, making essays of varying focus and length cohere thematically. Chevannes is skillful in giving scope to interpretations that differ from his own, recognizing that in doing so he is challenged to make his own as clear as possible. He is a meticulous sociologist, firmly rooted as a Jamaican in the very culture he examines so objectively. I infer from this book that he demands, however graciously, that other scholars in his company work with a similar combination of cultural sensitivity and attention to methodology. Readers variously positioned, whether as religionists, historians, linguists, sociologists, or anthropologists, will find reason to be critical of aspects of each paper. But one cannot deny the indispensability of a book like this that opens windows onto the demotic energy of Caribbean religious experience. Anyone interested in the development of a theology extrapolated from that experience need not read Williams's *Caribbean Theology* but cannot afford to ignore *Rastafari and Other African-Caribbean Worldviews*.

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Yoruba Songs of Trinidad. MAUREEN WARNER-LEWIS (ed.). London: Karnak House, 1994. 158 pp. (Paper n.p.)

Trinidad Yoruba: From Mother Tongue to Memory. MAUREEN WARNER-LEWIS. Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1996. xviii + 279 pp. (Paper US\$ 27.95)

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These two books illustrate the arrival, maintenance, and subsequent decline of Yoruba as an immigrant language in Trinidad. This West African Kwa language is spoken natively in the general area of what is today Nigeria, Benin, and Togo, as well as further north by immigrants in Sierra Leone. Often known as Anagó or Lucumí, varieties of Yoruba have been spoken among West Africans and their descendants in the Americas, for example, in Cuba, Brazil, Guyana, Grenada, and Jamaica as well as in Trinidad. Presumably, wherever Yoruba-speaking Africans landed in significant numbers in the Americas, as either slaves or immigrants, some variety of Yoruba can be assumed to have survived for a period of time, whether it has been documented in the literature thus far or not.

This review will focus on *Trinidad Yoruba*, since *Yoruba Songs of Trinidad* is, as Warner-Lewis notes, more a compilation of fieldwork with extensive annotations than a piece of original writing. It consists largely of an oral literature divided between chants and prayers (pp. 20-90) and secular songs and verses (pp. 91-153). Ethnomusicologists will be interested in the musical transcriptions of ten songs. (Unless indicated otherwise, page references in this review are to *Trinidad Yoruba*.) Fieldwork for both books was carried out between 1966 and 1972 with more than seventy elderly Trinidadians as consultants: eight were what Warner-

Lewis describes as "primary" or "major" speakers (i.e. first- or second-generation Yoruba speakers), and the remainder were third-generation Yoruba descendants in Trinidad. (For details about field procedures, see pp. 8-13.) Thus, the general age of these consultants places them as African immigrants or the descendants of African immigrants who arrived in Trinidad near the end of the nineteenth century, well into the post-emancipation period in the Anglophone Caribbean. Accordingly, the data elicited from them do not necessarily represent Yoruba as spoken by African slaves entering a plantation society.

The function of Yoruba in the daily lives of Trinidadians appears to have eroded to the point of obsolescence (pp. 4-7), and thus the consultants' latent knowledge of Yoruba structures and forms provides the basis for both books. However, in the 1994 book, the Trinidad Yoruba (TY) data have unfortunately been "standardized" or altered. Warner-Lewis states, "to make the text clear for literate Yoruba speakers, Standard Yoruba forms the basis of this reconstruction" (p. 2). Aside from appealing to Yoruba *readers* (who would have to negotiate a book written in English anyway), the reasons for this "reconstruction" are never made entirely clear since they in effect mitigate the work's usefulness from a creolist or dialectologist perspective by creating an artificial linguistic representation of the collected data. For example, since tone, a feature of Yoruba in West Africa, appears to have been often reduced to stress in the TY data (which is a common diachronic change), then altering these suprasegmentals to represent a present-day Yoruba speaker's way of singing a song (as opposed to the way it was uttered by a consultant in Trinidad) tells us less about the West African language varieties spoken in Trinidad in the nineteenth century than about how it might sound if a Yoruba speaker landed in Trinidad singing the same song today. It might have been more useful to have the original "unreconstructed" TY data alongside the contemporary African equivalents and the English glosses. As such, *Yoruba Songs of Trinidad* is a disappointment to those interested in linguistics since the data have been reduced to a collection of songs sung by Trinidadians and then "standardized" and presented with the reflexes from modern-day West Africa. In *Trinidad Yoruba*, however, Warner-Lewis makes an explicit distinction between a variety of Yoruba called TY and "continental" or African Yoruba. One must infer that this more current distinction reflects a change in her thinking about the "legitimacy" of an immigrant language variety, which perhaps emerged into its own identifiable variety or varieties (see pp. 173, 183), and its relationship to original varieties of that same source language.

The 1996 book is in many ways a more detailed and interesting piece of scholarship for the often careful attention given to (socio-)historical and linguistic detail. It is divided into three general parts: The Yoruba of Trinidad: Historical background and sociolinguistic behavior (pp. 17-95); Trinidad Yoruba: Linguistic structures (pp. 99-169); and The dialectics of obsolescence and creolization (pp. 173-213). The residual language domains of Yoruba in Trinidad (pp. 73-95) consist mostly of religious terminology and songs (i.e. in Orisha ceremonies) as well as personal names of children born to African immigrants in Trinidad (cf. the frequency of Yoruba-derived names in Gullah in Turner 1974:43-190).

Warner-Lewis points out correctly (pp. 1, 17, 189, 212) that the survival of Yoruba in the Americas contradicts received historical accounts claiming that West Africans often arrived in the Western Hemisphere unable to find people with whom to communicate in their native tongues owing to the strategies of Europeans who purportedly attempted (due to fear of rebellion) to isolate speakers of the same language. (In fact, most linguistic work in modern creole studies has assumed that African languages survived in the Americas even after the genesis of European-language-derived creole languages; see Mufwene 1993.) If one considers the insurmountable logistics of keeping Africans, who were often multilingual, separate from speakers of other mutually intelligible languages at every stage in the Atlantic slave trade, the erroneous notion that slaves could not find others with whom to speak some African language must be revealed as an untenable assertion – even if European slave traders and owners are documented as claiming this as an explicit goal.

Warner-Lewis is also accurate when she suggests (p. 207) that variation and change in creole-speaking communities has been approached by creolists almost exclusively from the perspective of decreolization, i.e. change by the creole away from features associated with the creole and towards those associated with a lexically-related metropolitan variety. (For critical discussion of this view, see Aceto 1995, 1996.) Other types of externally- and internally-motivated change are of course possible, even if decreolization is most often (over-)relied upon to account for linguistic variation in many creole societies.

One point of ambiguity in *Trinidad Yoruba* is that “creolization” is often used loosely, without a precise definition in reference to language, culture, race, ethnicity, or identity. (Near the end of the book Warner-Lewis devotes an entire section to a discussion of creolization as it pertains to linguistics [see below].) For example, one heading is vaguely titled “creolization” (pp. 47-52); since the term is never defined, one must infer that she is referring to Trinidadians (perhaps of color or not) who are

locally born as opposed to the ambiguously termed "Africans." Whether place of birth in Africa or ethnic and racial affiliation in Trinidad are determining factors in this identification of "Africans" is left unstated. Later, she writes of "creole Africans" (p. 69), again creating unavoidable confusion.

Another source of confusion is Warner-Lewis's system of attribution. For example, she states that African women in Trinidad were highly desirable to men because of their purportedly well-known domestic skills, and that their traditional passivity in matters of courtship induced them to marry any man who "approached them rather than men whom they would actively prefer" (p. 47). Trinidadian-African women may in fact have played such a role in courtship rituals, but there is not a single corroborating citation to support the author's assertion; and if her generalization is based on oral interviews with elderly consultants, she does not say so.

Warner-Lewis suggests, with various riders, that this case of TY decline and loss may provide insights into the emergence of creoles forming in plantation settings in the Americas (pp. 188-90). However, Trinidadian Creole English (TCE), the creole of most direct relevance for this possible scenario of language contact, appears to have emerged mainly in a post-emancipation setting. That is, TCE seems to be the result of contact between pre-existing creoles and Englishes imported into the island due to intra-Caribbean migration in the nineteenth century (see Winer 1984), and *Trinidad Yoruba* is unburdened by this perspective on the formation of TCE. In fact, the detailed documentation of substantial linguistic evidence which might illustrate the effect of Yoruba on the emergence of TCE is a topic that the author touches upon only intermittently, though large claims for Yoruba influence often arise (e.g., pp. 194-96, 212).

Warner-Lewis's arguments are sometimes weakened by the manner in which she manipulates historical chronology. For example, it is a fact that Yoruba speakers were transported from West Africa by Europeans to work as slaves on Anglophone plantations (among others) in the Americas. However, the variety of Yoruba so well documented in *Trinidad Yoruba* is the result of immigrants (not slaves) arriving in the Anglophone West Indies, particularly in Trinidad, after the abolition of the British slave trade, and so this variety cannot be seen as shedding light on elements of the creolization matrix which emerged much earlier on slave plantations in the Anglophone Caribbean. This bending of chronological events may have confused other readers. For instance, Salikoko Mufwene's blurb claims that this book "destroys justifiably the myth that the African languages of the African slaves in the New World died with the development of the creoles" and that "African languages and creoles must

have co-existed on several plantations." Though his statements are certainly true when applied rigorously to the study of specific creoles in precisely defined geographical contexts, a careful reading of *Trinidad Yoruba* demonstrates that the variety of Yoruba it documents is a post-plantation phenomenon. And though Warner-Lewis admits that her 1996 study "falls well outside the time frames most significant for the genesis of the Atlantic creoles" (p. 188), her final chapter, "Creolization Processes in Broader Perspective," still seems a labored attempt to assign a significant role to Yoruba in the formation of Atlantic European-language-derived creoles in general. (It is very likely, however, that TY has affected specific features of TCE.) In this light, statements such as "language was therefore a tool of rebellion against slavery" (p. 81), which undoubtedly contain much validity within appropriate historical time frames, seem a bit puzzling in their application to this case study.

It might have been more fruitful to approach the development of TY and its influence on TCE (and Trinidadian Creole French) from a more explicitly language contact perspective; Warner-Lewis makes the point well that many of the Yoruba immigrants who arrived in Trinidad traveled via Freetown in Sierra Leone, an area in which a discrete English-derived creole (known today as Krio) had already emerged (pp. 27, 29-30, 32-34, 41-42). Yoruba speakers familiar with Krio may have fed into the matrix of pre-existing creoles and Englishes forming in Trinidad, and this contact between Krio-speaking Yorubas and Trinidadians may prove to be a significant factor in the emergence of TCE and the "shape" it displays today.

All in all, these are interesting and worthwhile books because they document an immigrant language variety in the Americas which, for all intents and purposes, has disappeared from Trinidad already. In general, the study of immigrant languages, particularly among speakers of African languages as well as creole languages, is a much neglected topic in linguistics (see Sebba 1993 for one notable exception).

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Obeah – Hexerei in der Karibik – zwischen Macht und Ohnmacht.
NICOLA H. GÖTZ. Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 1995. 256 pp. (Paper
US\$ 51.95)

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The author's stated aim (p. 184) is to illustrate, with historic data from the British Caribbean, how the use of obeah (magic), together with other strategies, served to broaden the field of action of certain individuals, specifically of slaves or former slaves. It is its capacity to do so, in the context of interpersonal relations, which is the "power" (*Macht*) of her title. Götz draws such a concept of power from Machiavelli. She believes that the use of interpersonal strategies in the study of power has been much neglected. Magic, then, is the slaves' and ex-slaves' (partial) response, on the microlevel, to their powerlessness (*Ohnmacht*). In the larger social field they were, indeed, powerless.

To make her case, Götz focuses on Jamaica and on the period between 1760 and 1930 – from the major slave revolt to the strikes beginning the movement to independence. She reviews a massive literature, including documents from the British Public Record Office, official publications, travel reports, memoirs, fiction, and more from the seventeenth to the twentieth century; she also considers twentieth-century social science literature dealing with the Caribbean as well as with theoretical issues. While she spent extensive periods of document research in London, she did not work in Jamaica or elsewhere in the area. Although it has often been argued that slave revolts were fomented by obeahmen, Götz's review of the relevant official correspondence in the Public Record Office finds no supporting evidence for this claim.

This is an ethnohistorical study, concerned with the construction of the

cultural category "obeah," as referred to in contemporary writings. Indeed, there are two such cultural categories. First, there is the "scientific" (i.e. ethnographic) category, which seeks to link "obeah" beliefs with ideas about ghosts and illness, Christianity and witchcraft, anti-obeah (myalism), etc. Here, Götz rejects any search for African roots or "survivals," which she considers speculative, and argues that whatever African sources there may have been in the beginning, the West Indian beliefs and practices recorded in her documents were a local, syncretic product. Although the term "witchcraft" (*Hexerei*) is used in the title, there is no discussion of witchcraft, as distinguished from magic, and no indication that any witchcraft organizations were reported to have existed. Götz does note that obeah, in contrast to Vodou or Santería, never turned into a religion, but she offers no explanations for this. The problem is presumably outside the scope of her study, as she defines it.

Secondly, and most importantly for this study, there is the "hegemonic cultural category" in the discourse of whites, which constitutes the body of written sources available for any study of obeah. This material shows how whites represented the beliefs and actions of blacks, often in the context of more or less detailed case histories. Götz makes good use of several of these cases, taken from the diary of the planter and absentee owner M.G. Lewis. For whites, obeah was an ambivalent category – while denied as "superstition," it was also feared. The major theme, justifying this fear, concerned the subject of poisons.

There is, however, no direct evidence of what blacks believed, no sources prepared by the peoples whose beliefs are described or inferred, no record of their "cultural category" of obeah.

Götz finds interesting evidence that the ideas of the whites changed over time and that their fears were intensified after emancipation, when they felt more vulnerable. She suggests that the obeahman was used as a scapegoat both by whites and blacks. In this connection she draws from contemporary accounts a series of contradictory, stereotypic images concerning the person and appearance of the obeahman, sometimes similar to those of the European witch. In contrast to the European case, however, the majority of references appear to be to men, although women were also suspected of practicing obeah. While, on the one hand, the obeahman is at times able to act, and enlarge his own field of action, by instilling fear, whether in whites or other blacks, he and his presumed activities serve, on the other hand, as a useful explanatory device for failures and events over which people had no control.

The limited scope of this study is compensated for by the intensive utilization and analysis of its materials. It will serve as a baseline for future

researchers on contemporary obeah practices and beliefs, and as a source of comparative materials for students of interpersonal strategies in other contexts of microlevel power and powerlessness.

¡Salsa! Havana Heat: Bronx Beat. HERNANDO CALVO OSPINA. London: Latin America Bureau, 1995. viii + 151 pp. (Paper £9.99, US\$ 16.00)

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Presented as "a brief, simple introduction to salsa's history and its many ramifications" (p. 3), this book, translated by Nick Caistor from the Spanish and first published in Dutch in 1992, will be most attractive to those with little exposure to salsa. The author, a Colombian journalist and salsa dancer, writes with enthusiasm for the music. The most positive outcome for readers unfamiliar with salsa would be that they seek out the artists and recordings mentioned to experience the music directly and that they read further in more complete and reliable sources. (The book includes the offer of a free CD, *Tropical Extravaganza* on the Tumi Music label, valid in the UK and Europe; I've also seen the CD wrapped with the book on sale in the United States.)

More informed readers, however, will find the book problematic in several respects. Calvo addresses a series of topics in nine short chapters: "A Cuban's Story: Slave Drums, Spanish Songs," "Waiting for Castro: Son, Jazz, and Chachacha [sic]," "New York, New York: A Puerto Rican's Story," "Bronx Rebels: From Pachanga to Boogaloo," "Fania Allstars and 'Our Latin Thing,'" "Salsa is Born!," "Breaking with Tradition: Women and Salsa," "Salsa Política: A Colombian's Story," and "The Nineties: Salsa-erótica, Merengue and Cumbia." There are eight pages of illustrations and an unreliable glossary (for example: "Bossa nova: Brazilian rumba rhythm which became very popular in the 1960s" [p. 134]). Bibliographical citations are provided in footnotes, but lack specific page numbers.

The chapters on Cuban antecedents of salsa touch on the principal formative elements, such as African sacred musics, Cuban *son* and *rumba*, and European salon musics. The book as a whole is beset by oversimplifications ("In those days, Europe lagged behind Africa when it came

to rhythm and percussion: so much so that Beethoven met with disapproval when he introduced drums into his Seventh Symphony" [p. 13]), value judgments ("Those of us who consider ourselves the real salsa lovers have had to put up with the assault of a rosy-erotic-salsa, specially designed for a kind of tropical Julio Iglesias" [p. 112]), and inaccuracies ("One such country dance was the *danzón*, or big dance, which came directly from the ancient dances in Matanzas, in the east of Cuba" [p. 17]). The *danzón* developed in Havana; Calvo may have had in mind the *rumba*, a strong center of which is Matanzas, on the north coast of Cuba (home of Los Muñequitos).

Even more problematic are the changes in authorial voice that are announced at the beginning of the book ("At times, the story is told by imaginary bystanders so as to bring the reader that bit closer to the people and communities which created salsa" [p. 3]) and introduced without clarification in later chapters. In Chapter 1 it is the African slaves who speak as "We blacks" (p. 5). In Chapter 3 the voice is that of a young Puerto Rican in New York: "As a Puerto Rican, I was one of the first to experience that aggressive social contact which generated a subculture we knew as Niuyorrikan, and then later as Niuyorlatin; the subculture of us third class citizens." (p. 38). By Chapter 8, which speaks from a Colombian's point of view about absorbing salsa from the radio on a Cali streetcorner, readers have no way to tell whether this is in fact Calvo's story or another invented one. Given the fact that many of those involved in the growth of salsa's popularity, whether as musicians, audiences, or business people, are still available for interviews, the use of such "imaginary bystanders" seems unnecessary. Calvo does include some quotations from interviews with and letters from salsa musicians; more would have been welcome.

On the positive side, the book does strike a balance between Cuban roots and innovations by New York musicians in its discussion of the origin of salsa (p. 76); it describes the prominent role of the Fania label (Chapter 5) in popularizing salsa; it notes the strong impact of the film *Nuestra cosa latina* (Our Latin Thing) on South American salsa fans (p. 98); and it devotes a chapter to women and salsa. The inclusion of lyrics in Spanish and English for 52 songs is also helpful.

Despite these positive aspects and the author's obvious affection for the music, readers who are new to salsa should look elsewhere for a reliable introduction.

The Steelband Movement: The Forging of a National Art in Trinidad and Tobago. STEPHEN STUEMPFLE. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1995. xx + 289 pp. (Cloth US\$ 38.95, Paper US\$ 16.95)

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In this age of digital music, digital recording, and digital life the steelband stands out as one of the last great acoustic instruments anywhere in the world whose sound is best experienced live. For vitalists, it is music's last great hope. Although the "dum dee dee dum dum" of a steelband on a palm-swept beach is almost as old as the instrument itself and is the image that steel "drums" have for foreign tourists, the creation and story of pan in Trinidad and Tobago is an important factor in the social relations between ethnic groups and classes in Trinidad and Tobago and in the quest for political independence and the subsequent search for national symbols, especially by Afro-Trinidadians. It is this pan that interests Stephen Stuempfle, the pan that is a means of "re-presenting much of the music existing in Trinidad" from African, European, and Asian Indian sources; it is "an instrument of creolization" (p. 44).

In addition to his own research, carried out between October 1987 and April 1989 with subsequent short visits since then, Stuempfle draws on the theories and research of very many scholars: one sees Roger Abrahams's sense of performance (1983), Victor Turner's notion of drama and metaphor (1974), Errol Hill's sense of Carnival as theater (1972), J.D. Elder's feel for the grass roots folk that created pan (1969), and George Goddard's personal account of pan history (1991). He interviewed panmen, visited pan yards, and listened to pan and more pan. He limed (hung out) in the pan yards, especially the yard of the Merrytones Steel Orchestra of Green Hill Village, Diego Martin. He must have spent plenty of time in libraries also since the book is full of primary written sources.

Chapter 1 deals with nineteenth-century festive and musical traditions that pre-date the development of the steelband. Chapter 2, "The Emergence of the Steelband: the 1930s and 1940s," and Chapter 3, "The Institutionalization of the Steelband: The 1940s and 1950s," comprise the best history of the steelband that this reviewer has read. The roots of pan are a much debated and disputed subject with individuals and ax grinders taking stances all over the place without accurately stating the facts but only repeating a myth of pan. Stuempfle explains both the facts and the

myth very well indeed; he exhibits a well-placed awe for the collective and individual genius of the panmen and women, the tuners, and the scholars of pan. He traces the origins of pan to the evolution of the tamboo bamboo or stamping tube bands in the 1930s into tinpan bands by 1940 and the subsequent tuning of these pans by 1950. His analysis of the myth of pan is dense. It has to do with the idea of pan as a voice for the male limers and jamets (the lumpen proletariat) that was first musical, and then became a political tool in the quest for Afro-Trinidadian and Tobagonian identity. Then, as local scholars and other middle-class champions take up the cause of the steel orchestra, pan becomes a symbol of the surging Afro-Trinidadian Creoles as they assume power upon independence under the leadership of the Peoples National Movement and Eric Williams in 1962.

Chapter 4 is "The Steelband in the Post-Independence Era: The 1960s and 1970s" and Chapter 5 is "The Steelband in Contemporary Trinidad and Tobago." After independence, pan becomes a symbol of debate between the Creole faction in Trinidad, the major portion of which are mostly of African descent, and the Trinidadians of Asian Indian descent. The former see pan as a national symbol and most of the latter do not.

The last chapter, "The Steelband: Cultural Creativity and the Construction of Identities," ties together the major themes of the book: "I have argued," writes Stuemple, "that the emergence of the steelband in the late 1930s and its subsequent development have paralleled the emergence and development of Trinidad and Tobago as a nation. Certainly the steelband has reflected shifting ethnic and class relations and ideas of national identity. At the same time, it has been a dynamic force in the creation of a new society (p. 235)."

This fine work comes with the highest recommendation.

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Caribbean Hoops: The Development of West Indian Basketball. JAY R. MANDLE & JOAN D. MANDLE. Langhorne PA: Gordon and Breach, 1994. ix + 121 pp. (Cloth US\$ 31.00, Paper US\$ 16.00)

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When I was a teenager in the Barbados high school during the late 1960s, basketball was not seen by my contemporaries as a "serious" sport. Neither was it an enterprise that was considered by us to be worthy of any major investment of time and thought. Rather, it was just a means to an end – fitness in order to play cricket. Sports instructors would sentence us to an hour of basketball as a warm-up exercise before the big cricket game. Some of us also played a street version while walking the several miles home from school, using utility poles, and occasionally the arches of doors of peoples' homes, as baskets.

It is all different now. The talk on the streets, in the media, and educational institutions is that basketball is rapidly taking over the sports imagination of the youth. More disturbing for most of my generation, it is gaining considerable market share, at the expense of cricket, in the competition for their time and thought. Profound cultural changes in the region have been identified in the search for an explanatory framework.

What the Mandles have done here is to provide an insider account of why and how basketball, after decades of spinning in the Caribbean mud, has acquired a definite trajectory. They have dispelled commonly held views about the game's history with detailed research and through a presentation that centers on their personal engagement with Caribbean players, administrators, commentators, and spectators, over a period of two decades.

The compelling analytical force of the subtext, however, stems from its focus on the game's search for legitimacy within a popular sports culture hegemonized by cricket. It sets up a politicized cultural paradigm that dichotomizes the principal postcolonial contest with the region – British heritage vs. American influence. The Mandles do not argue, however, that

the ascendancy of basketball during the 1990s is a function of the penetration of Caribbean households and consciousness by American television, but speak in terms of the reaping of crops hard sown during the resisting 1960s and 1970s. This book explores both positions and provides us with complex insights into the tendency toward both cultural homogenization and resistance with the Americas.

The Mandles clearly found it difficult to let go and distance themselves from this social history narrative in which they were active participants. Their engagement with the process provides the account with a rich autobiographical texture that illuminates aspects of community life and gives visibility to characters otherwise hidden from history. As a method of social history analysis it works well, and is rewarding in that it delivers a powerful sense of immediacy to the subject matter. They can therefore well imagine the trauma I suffered when, during an England vs. West Indies cricket test match, I returned to the island and asked my ten-year-old son for the score, and he replied, "Bulls 104, Sonics 98."

Fanon: A Critical Reader. LEWIS R. GORDON, T. DENEAN SHARPLEY-WHITING & RENÉE T. WHITE (eds.). Oxford: Blackwell, 1996. xxi + 344 pp. (Paper US\$ 21.95)

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Frantz Fanon's continued relevance to scholars and activists thirty-five years after his death is an ironic testimony of how little has changed in the intervening period. The essays in this volume, the product of a conference entitled "Fanon Today: Rereadings, Confrontations, Engagements" sponsored by the African American Research Center at Purdue University in 1995, represents a renewed critical appreciation of the life and work of the Martinican psychiatrist, writer, intellectual, and activist, who died December 6, 1961.

There is nothing quaint about the renewed interest in the work of Fanon, who continues to be one of the most influential figures in Third World revolutionary thought. While we may be in a post-Marxist age (in the sense of the waning of political commitment to Marxism as a set of authoritative theoretical options and accompanying praxes), the editors

argue that it is premature to consign Fanon to the archives. The continued reality of colonialism and racism in a postcolonial age insure that his thought continues to speak to many.

The essays in this volume represent what the editors see as the fifth stage of applications of Fanon's work and reactions to it. Initially Fanon was received as one of a set of contemporary revolutionary thinkers (Castro, Guevara, H. Newton, P. Freire). After his death came a series of biographies (Gendzier, Geismar, Cauter), then a number of assessments of Fanon's contributions to political theory (H. Adam, E. Hansen, R. Zahar). More recently, there has been a flood of postcolonial and cultural studies appreciations (Said, Bhabha, JanMohammed, Parry, Spivack, and Gates, among others). The most recent stage represents a broadening out of Fanon's influence to human studies generally, and is marked by the appearance of works by Hussein Bulhan, Tsenay Serequeberhan, Lewis R. Gordon, and Ato Sekyi-Otu. The volume under review includes essays by these scholars and others. Jointly, the essays represent a broad interdisciplinary effort to work with and through Fanon's thought in the development of a variety of theoretical projects.

The contributions are organized around six themes. In Part I, "Oppression," essays by Floyd W. Hayes, III, Stanley O. Gaines, Jr., and Richard Schmitt explore the relevance of Fanon's thought to different aspects of racial oppression, particularly in the United States.

Part II, "Questioning the Human Sciences," includes essays by Ronald A.T. Judy, Lewis R. Gordon, Françoise Vergès, and Renée T. White. Until recently, not much had been written about Fanon the psychiatrist. Vergès's essay offers a partial remedy to this situation (while we await her book-length study). She offers a particularly insightful and historically grounded examination of Fanon's revolutionary psychiatric practice, showing how it linked politics and psychiatry in an analysis of the colonial situation.

In Part III, "Identity and the Dialectics of Recognition," essays by Robert Bernasconi, Sonia Kruks, and Lou Turner develop critical analyses of important philosophical issues in Fanon's thought, notably his humanism and his critiques of the politics of recognition and of Hegel's discussion of the master/slave relationship.

In Part IV, T. Denean Sharpley-Whiting, Nada Elia, Eddy Souffrant, and David Theo Goldberg provide essays around the theme of "Fanon and the Emancipation of Women of Color." Can one speak of a Fanonian feminism? To this question, the essays in this section offer a qualified yes. Sharpley-Whiting disputes Western feminist critics' efforts to portray Fanon as super-macho, underlining his awareness of the colonial context

of constructions of race and gender. Elia and Goldberg offer contrasting readings of Fanon's interpretation of the role of the veil in French colonialism in Algeria.

Under the rubric "Postcolonial Dreams, Neocolonial Realities," the essays in Part V by Maurice Stevens, Paget Henry, Tsenay Serequeberhan, and Olufemi Taiwo explore different aspects of Fanon's thought against the background of Afro-Caribbean and African philosophy. Taiwo's essay intriguingly explores the prophetic dimension of Fanon's essay "On National Culture" as it pertains to contemporary Nigeria.

Finally, in Part VI, "Resistance and Revolutionary Violence," contributions by Nigel Gibson, Gail M. Presbey, Lewis R. Gordon, and Joy Ann James demonstrate the continued relevance of his ideas and example for contemporary struggles. There is also a useful bibliography of works by and about Fanon. (There are some symptomatic lacunae – for example, the works of the Algerian feminist, Assia Djebbar.)

There is in all this a bit too much preaching to the choir. The Fanon that emerges from these pages is (with some exceptions) a man without faults, an icon of revolutionary virtue. Problematic or potentially contradictory aspects of his thought and behavior are brushed aside, while the complex historical contexts in which he existed are mostly unelucidated. *Fanon: A Critical Reader* is of interest primarily to readers of Africana philosophy, women of color studies, and postcolonial studies.

The Primordial Image: African, Afro-American, and Caribbean Mythopoetic Text. IKENNA DIEKE. New York: Peter Lang, 1993. xiv + 434 pp. (Cloth US\$ 63.95)

Self and Colonial Desire: Travel Writings of V.S. Naipaul. WIMAL DISANAYAKE & CARMEN WICKRAMAGAMAGE. New York: Peter Lang, 1993. vii + 160 pp. (Cloth US\$ 45.95)

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One of the more difficult problematics found in much postcolonial theory and criticism lies in the tension that exists between the tendencies toward universalism and relativism. Universalism, seen as an accomplice of

colonialism and its erasure of difference, is pitted against local knowledge and the specificities of resisting cultures. In both *The Primordial Image* and *Self and Colonial Desire*, this struggle occupies center stage, although each text offers a different variation on the theme.

Ikenna Dieke has executed a study that is enormous in scope, including the works of more than a dozen novelists, poets, and playwrights. He takes as his point of departure, as one might guess from the title, a Jungian approach to literature, identifying and examining archetypal patterns in these works. Jung's theory of the collective unconscious, as the author notes, "asserts the existence" of "recurrent patterns such as the age-long archetype or primordial images" (pp. 2-3). The extent to which these archetypes might reflect historical and cultural specificities rather than universal truths is never examined by Dieke. Instead, he emphasizes the importance of an approach that dehistoricizes, moving away "from the personal and the historical toward the universal and mythological" (p. 4). Jungian theory, and specifically the concept of the collective unconscious, has been attacked due to its Eurocentric and masculinist biases, passing off specifically masculinist Western values and knowledges as universal ones. Unfortunately, although the application of a Jungian framework to non-European texts seems somewhat problematic in this light, the choice of such an interpretive model is never theorized in *The Primordial Image*. Thus, when discussing the authors in his study, Dieke observes that each one is "acutely aware that he is alienated from" this "universal totality," which only stands to reason, since the totality expressed is not that shared by the writers of the diaspora (p. 5). But to accept this state of affairs would be to allow "the personal and the historical" to return to the analysis, a step that Dieke is either unwilling or unable to take.

While the unexamined acceptance of a Jungian model of analysis poses some fundamental problems for his study, Dieke does excel in its application. After the Preface, in which he sets out his theoretical model, each chapter of *The Primordial Image* explores the manifestations of different archetypes in a variety of works. Various chapters are devoted to the "feminine principle," the "quest archetype," the "ternary archetype," the "Wise Old Man archetype," and the "Dionysian." After a chapter which examines millennial texts, the concluding chapter contains a discussion of Eros, Thanatos, psychedelic experience, and the concept of *unus mundus*.

Throughout these chapters, Dieke's extensive knowledge of the various literary traditions that he examines shines through and his identification of archetypal imagery is rather convincing. Once again, however, his analysis suffers from the inability to engage with the limits of his

theoretical model. His discussion of the feminine principle and the image of women in the first chapter provides an excellent example of this shortcoming. Writing about the image of women in Soyinka's *The Interpreters*, Dieke describes a female character as "an erotic goddess, the instinctual embodiment of the anima, the prime exotic mover whose fascination drives, lures and induces her countless male admirers" (p. 16). One need not be well versed in contemporary feminist criticism to see the masculinist stereotypes of women as exotic sexual objects in this depiction, but amazingly, Dieke argues that in this image, "we have observed an incredible curtailment of male chauvinism" and a "recognition of feminine compensatory power" (p. 16).

In *Self and Colonial Desire*, Carmen Wickramagamage and Wimal Dissanayake take issue with the claims of objectivity that have often accompanied Western travel narratives, seeing in such a claim the dangers of an all too facile universalism that has served, and continues to serve, metropolitan interests. As they write in the first chapter, "the distinction between fiction (created) and travel writing (factual) is a false one," given that travel writing is always already subject to various cultural, historical, political, and personal imperatives, all of which deny the possibility of any objective factual apprehension of another culture (p. 2). Naipaul's travel writings, for the authors, represent his attempts to "fashion himself in the very process of his textualization" (p. vii). Having acknowledged the impossibility of any "innocent" reading or writing, as well as Naipaul's implication in his own narratives, Dissanayake and Wickramagamage are quick to situate themselves, pointing out that they encounter Naipaul's texts "as two South Asianists" (p. vii). What seems to be a rather highly developed sense of self-awareness soon breaks down, however, leaving them to embark upon a profoundly ambivalent reading of Naipaul's travel writings.

A brief glance at their second chapter, in which they examine *The Middle Passage*, will be sufficient to illustrate their problematic relationship to Naipaul's texts. Although in their introduction they denied the possibility of any objective truth claim for travel writing, in this chapter they argue that Naipaul is capable of "a detached but close analysis" (p. 22) that seems perilously close to objectivity. However, within a couple of pages, they contradict themselves, pointing out his "very critical account of the Trinidadian social mores and prejudices," which they attribute to his deep "personal involvement in this society" (pp. 24-25). They argue that "Naipaul hysterically dissociates himself from his fellow West Indians" in order to quell his "fear" of identification, but also claim that he remains a "detached social critic" whose writing demonstrates "the accuracy of

faithful reportage" (p. 32) with camera-like detail. Though he reports so faithfully and accurately, in such a detached manner, he still is "unable to substantiate his biases" (p. 41). Although critics of Naipaul's work would surely agree with the authors in their observation that Naipaul is a complex and difficult writer, it becomes harder to grant their claims that he is at once, "fearful," "hysterical," "personally involved," and yet somehow at the same time "detached." In the same vein, it does not seem possible that his reporting can be "faithful" and "accurate," while showing profound "biases," as Dissanayake and Wickramagamage would have it.

Despite the dizzying degree of ambivalence in their readings of Naipaul's texts, Dissanayake and Wickramagamage do provide thought-provoking insights into the nature of travel writing, as well as substantial critiques of Naipaul's works. They are at their most persuasive when dealing with other critical responses to Naipaul, even shedding some interesting light on Rob Nixon's celebrated essay entitled "London Calling: V.S. Naipaul and the License of Exile." Unfortunately, as in the case of *The Primordial Image*, the authors' failure to sufficiently theorize both their own project and their relationship to the texts they read limits the strength of an otherwise solid piece of work.

Jamaica Kincaid: Where the Land Meets the Body. MOIRA FERGUSON. Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1994. xiii + 205 pp. (Cloth US\$ 40.00, Paper US\$ 16.95)

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This is the first book-length study of the Antiguan novelist's work, most early reviews recall, with seeming satisfaction at receiving a long-awaited gift. Others might wonder at the amount of attention lavished on this relatively young writer, compared with those of an older generation, like Paule Marshall. Here we mention two Caribbean women writers whose careers (or life, in Marshall's case) have been spent in the United States: a geographical detail which raises the nagging question of identification and location associated with such other conspicuous names as Jamaica-born Michelle Cliff. In her quick rise to fame Jamaica Kincaid may have benefited from the larger interest in black female writing that has swept

over America in the last two decades. At the same time, reading Ferguson's book, we understand the uniqueness of Kincaid's contribution to the current movement of feminist fiction and criticism. An authority in women's studies, the critic takes great care to establish the novelist's attachment to her home island. This is implied in her title, with "land" and "body" signifying the physical reality behind the words and figments. This is also present in her theme which revolves around Jamaica Kincaid's long-time problematical relationship with her mother, herself a native of Dominica, further south and, like Antigua, a former colony of Great Britain.

The whole book is an effort to probe "that doubled articulation of motherhood as both colonial and biological." This is the driving force behind the five pieces that are individually analyzed, from the initiatory collection, *At the Bottom of the River* (1978), to the isolated 1989 short story, "Ovando," a mature reflection on the origins of colonialism, opportunely anticipating the 1992 commemorations of Columbus's "Discovery." As the author indicates, within the chronology of Jamaica Kincaid's texts, "Ovando" comes between *A Small Place* (1988) and *Lucy* (1990). But its position here fittingly outlines the slightly shifting emphasis from autobiography to history, the fusion of which characterizes Kincaid's fiction. Rightfully, *Annie John* (1983), with Ferguson's emblematic subtitle, "Mother-Daughter-Christopher Columbus," receives the fullest treatment. Both *Lucy*, the poetic re-creation of the writer's early life in the United States, and *A Small Place*, the lyrical and angry polemic about independent Antigua, provide a sequence and an extension to the classic tale of a Caribbean girl's initiation to independence. Yet they stand in their own right. Not so with "Annie, Gwen, Lilly, Pam and Tulip" which, even for those supposedly familiar with Kincaid's writings, comes as a surprise: published in 1986 and 1989, in different editions, this short story was originally written as a section of *At the Bottom* and, with its reference to two prominent characters in *Annie John*, it can be read as a transition to that closing imaginative account of the novelist's childhood and adolescence in Antigua, a kind of climax in the extended Bildungsroman which Moira Ferguson unfolds in her own idiosyncratic style.

As a piece of literary criticism, the study is nearly as arresting as the works it scrutinizes. To make it, in one reviewer's words, "the definite Jamaica Kincaid scholarship," there is above all the reliability and consistency of the method, which combines the Freudian tools of psychoanalysis with the more versatile instruments of postcolonial theory. Naturally adapted to the subliminal reality of the mother-daughter nexus, the former approach proves particularly useful in the face of the "indecipherability" of *At the Bottom*, or its "mystery" and "indeterminacy." In

like manner, the interpretation of the recurring symbol of water (or of blood and milk) in these stories and in *Annie John* relies heavily on the theories of French philosopher Bachelard, while the Caribbean historical, cultural, and political background often serves as reference. Thus the elucidation of the trickeries of the monkey figure and of obeah resort to the most recent investigations of anthropologists into West Indian folktales and beliefs.

However, the book's most original facet is the quality of the critic's language, with the sharp contrast between the complexity, turgidity, even obscurity of her commentary and the novelist's smooth and lucid prose. In her insistence to drive the latter into the postcolonial/postmodern mold, Ferguson tends to inflate the significance of her "deceptively simple technical strategies" which, she claims, challenge the "linearity of traditional Western modes of narratives." While we are willing to follow the argument (with reservations – Jamaica Kincaid is not Erna Brodber), we definitely shrink from the artificial, mechanical terminology that goes with it ("counterdiscursive, counterintuitive, counterhegemonic, interconnect, intersect, intertextualize, politicize, metonymize, prioritize, dialogize"). At times, the jargon of that brand of criticism collapses into sheer stylistic incongruity ("the troping of royalty, the homogenizing of people, ash links metonymically to fire, she signals decisive opposition to the invaders"). The repetition of such impressive phrases may impose a measure of coherence on the author's own discourse. More probably, it threatens to blur the meaning of that otherwise illuminating survey of a series of texts which do need to be "decoded," to revert to another favorite formula of Ferguson's. In this respect, the study is a superb exercise in intellectual sophistication and theoretical single-mindedness. But obviously this is no book for the general reader. It was not intended to be.

Race, Discourse, and the Origin of the Americas: A New World View. VERA LAWRENCE HYATT & REX NETTLEFORD (eds.). Washington DC: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1995. xiii + 302 pp. (Cloth US\$ 42.00)

Ceremonies of Possession in Europe's Conquest of the New World, 1492-1640. PATRICIA SEED. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995. viii + 199 pp. (Cloth US\$ 49.95, Paper US\$ 14.95)

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These two volumes share the important characteristic of being subversive of orthodox understanding. Neither represents the final outcome of the process of questioning it intends to provoke – so that we can only glimpse the possibilities of that newly ordered knowledge – but the questions they both raise and the empirical anomalies in standard accounts that they expose should encourage all researchers to wonder how their own materials might be fundamentally re-cast as stock accounts of the meaning and course of European colonialism in America come into question or are seen in a new light.

The volume edited by Hyatt and Nettleford is likely to pose the greatest difficulties for orthodox accounts, since the quality of the essays is uneven. Nonetheless, the central theme of the book – that in order to arrive at a better view of the origin of the Americas a much more systematic attention needs to be paid to specifically African and African/Native American interactions – is one with which this reviewer is very much in agreement. Leaving aside for one moment the obvious importance of interactions between Maroon and indigenous communities across the whole of the two continents, there is also the hidden story of North African exploration of Spain and Portugal's "discovery" and the way in which it has been suppressed from historical memory. The chapters by A.J.R. Russell-Wood, John Thornton, and Jan Carew do an excellent job in drawing out these themes as reflected in European historiographical materials. More controversial, indeed redolent of the story telling of Von Daniken or Heyerdahl, is Ivan van Sertima's strange compendium of unrecognized "evidence" of a pre-Columbian black presence in America. Fortunately, David Kelley's essay, which immediately follows this enjoyable mental excursion, provides a solid assessment of both van Sertima's importance in initiating scholarly discussion through this kind of exercise,

but also timely warnings as to its ultimate futility. On a different tack Russell Thornton argues that the epidemiological consequences of contact, although grave, were not as uniform or as consistently devastating as the "disease historians" would like to suggest and that an over-reliance on demography to "explain" history leads us to ignore the evidence of native resistance and demographic recovery well within the colonial period itself.

The essay by Maurice Bazin has the worthy aim of reviving a "respect" for the cultures that Europe destroyed and of documenting how an initial respect and wonder at the marvels of native culture turned to a sour contempt for things "Indian." This is a familiar enough exercise in colonial critique with which we can all sympathize, but the argument as made in this chapter is far too general and rhetorical to convince the sceptical or enlighten the ignorant. To be told that "some Europeans saw other peoples as beastly, others recognized them as candidates for being equals" hardly seems adequate to the complexity of colonial interactions and threatens to caricature both indigenous and invasive actors in the colonial drama – a point which, as we shall see, is very much underlined by Patricia Seed's volume. A similar point is made in the essays by Sylvia Wynter and Valentin Mudimbe. Both show how European concepts and categories were no less magico-religious or "mythical" than those of the "superstitious" natives they encountered and that the legal forms of European colonialism, as in Papal decree, had a profound effect on the ideology of conquest and colonial possession. Charles Long's chapter on the Columbian Exposition, held in Chicago in 1892, is more penetrating in its analysis of the significance of the Exposition in the unfolding of U.S. ideology towards its own frontier and intelligently links the forms of presentation in the Exposition to the Foucauldian suggestion that "science" is a form of political power.

The final chapters by Antonio Benítez-Rojo and Edouard Glissant take up themes of racial and cultural mixing, especially in Caribbean and Brazilian contexts, and see these outcomes as expressing in carnival, music, and song, as much as in language and speech-act, the negation of colonial intent. In this analysis the defining, measuring, and knowing of "science" is challenged if not utterly subverted by the complexity, vivacity, and mutability of human response to oppression. So too, the categories of colonial history – black, white, red – are ultimately inadequate for an exposition of that history. This prompts questions as to the value of the concept of "race," since its analytical value has been shown by the essays here to be limited and necessarily connected to the colonial discourse on America. In this and many other ways, the Hyatt and Nettleford volume

offers, not finished and certain conclusions, but most welcome and stimulating indications of how we should proceed in trying to understand the origin of the Americas.

Patricia Seed's marvelous volume is far more trenchant in focusing attention on the ritual aspects of colonialism. Noting the formal *Requerimiento* that functioned to make Spanish possession and conquest legal in the minds of its enactors, Seed goes on to show how all the European nations had some similarly ritualized and enigmatic form of behavior that licensed their thieving and murder in the New World. The *Requerimiento* ("requirement") was a form of words and a display of symbols that, duly notarized, would be the basis for a legal claim to possession, against both other governments and rival *conquistadores*. That such a performance was far from idle is shown by the ferocity with which the political heirs to Columbus squabbled over the riches of the New World using the presence or absence of such legalistic forms as critical in their claims before the Spanish Royal Court. However, such ceremonies were not the preserve of the Spanish, and the French in particular rivaled them in the intricacy and magnificence of the processions and displays by which their claims were made manifest. When we read that the English achieved a similar effect by laying out gardens and fences, the Dutch by drawing intensely detailed maps, and the Portuguese by overlaying the mathematics of the stars, a habit inherited from their Moorish ancestors, then we realize that such events are also brilliantly revelatory of the sources of European self-understanding.

As an historian, Seed is chiefly concerned with the dynamics of European presentation and has little to say about how Europeans may have related to native practice and understanding, except with the suggestion that such ceremonies of possession were largely unintelligible, since they were in any case enigmatic to "ordinary" Europeans as well. This was probably often the case, but when we have been offered a framework in which European action and decision are analyzed with the same kind of categories more usually reserved for the indigenous population, it is disappointing to find the idea of mutual cultural opacity, which so often drives "progressive" histories of contact, unquestioned. The visual and musical aesthetic of native people is highly developed and was remarked upon repeatedly in other contexts as evidence of their "godliness." So while it may be that few, if any, of the native participants in such ceremonies were capable of offering a ritual exegesis, it is not the case that such performances went unappreciated as displays of power and dominance. Indeed, to the Europeans of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries the issue of whether such ceremonies carried any meaning for the native

population, and hence whether they could be said to give their enactors meaningful possession of place and people, was an active one. Walter Raleigh, for example, accused the Spanish in Orinoco of falsely claiming the loyalty of the natives on the basis of the enactment of the *Requerimiento* but acknowledged that when "they slew them and buried them in the country, they so much sought. They gave them by that means a full and complete possession the which before they had but begun." In this sense, then, the Seed volume begins a task that should concern all historians and anthropologists of colonial contacts – that is, how we are to avoid the canard that both Europeans and Native Americans can be understood in their own terms and without reference to the influences of the other, even in contexts such as ceremonies of possession that seem to suggest a deep cultural divide. Taken together with the timely reminder of the black component to that story, the volumes here offer new horizons in the anthropology and history of the Americas.

Etnicidad como estrategia en America Latina y en el Caribe. MICHEL BAUD, KEES KOONINGS, GERT OOSTINDIE, ARIJ OUWENEEL & PATRICIO SILVA. Quito: Ediciones Abya-Yala, 1996. 214 pp. (Paper n.p.)

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The growing popularity of ethnicity, both as a mobilizing category and as a key to interpreting social dynamics, often conceals that in many ways ethnicity has something important in common with class consciousness: its potential is much bigger than its actual use.

The region in which the ethnic potential has been most dormant is Latin America – there is a lot of ethnicity in itself, but relatively little ethnicity for itself. So many rebellions, protests, and claims that in other regions would have taken an ethnic character, in Latin America have tended to center their discourse and rhetoric on the class struggle.

Of course, in the history and contemporary developments of the countries that were once colonies of Spain and Portugal, the ethnic categories "race" and "color" have been a driving factor, and have been central to the creation of popular and official discourse on the nation and citizenship.

In most Latin American countries race relations are characterized by a relatively high degree of miscegenation, by a color or racial continuum, and by a long syncretic tradition in the areas of religion and popular culture. The somatic norm behind this historically placed the biologically and/or culturally unmiscegenated black or Indio at the bottom of the scale of privilege. Blacks, and sometimes even Indians, however, are not seen, and tend not to see themselves, as an ethnic minority. This type of race relations has offered scope for the manipulation of ethnic identity, mostly on an individual basis, and has tended not to foster ethnic mobilization and group formation.

The specificity of race relations, ethnic identity, and the position of black people in Latin America has always been controversial. To explain such specificity several (often diverging) cultural and structural factors have been used: different dominant religious systems in the colonial era (Protestant and Catholic), different somatic norm images, demographic profiles (for example, unequal sex ratios among white settlers and slaves or the proportion of whites/Indians/blacks), geographic differences, "medieval" or paternalistic as opposed to universalistic orientation of the state, the position of the state toward the processes of miscegenation and ethnogenesis, the attitude of the intellectual elite, political tradition, and the type of economies.

In fact the specificity of Latin America in terms of race relations, as well as for other aspects, has largely depended upon a comparison with the United States and, to a lesser extent, northwest Europe. In this respect, it must be stressed that the gaze and the political agenda of intellectuals and social scientists on ethnicity, "race," and "color" in the United States and Latin America have thus far been quite divergent. One can speak of an obsession with class in Latin America and of an obsession with ethnicity, "race," and "color" in the United States. Many of the most important studies on race relations in Latin America have been carried out by North American scholars. Latin American intellectuals and social scientists look to the academic production in the United States – and are immensely more curious about the work of scholars in the north than U.S. scholars are about the work of their colleagues in Latin America. The political agenda and, more generally, cultural background of U.S. scholars should, therefore, be taken into account when analyzing their production as to ethnicity in Latin America. When it was necessary to demonstrate that racial segregation was inhuman, a country such as Brazil was hailed as a racial paradise; when, instead, the assumption became that polarized race relations are more conducive to the emancipation of the groups that are racially op-

pressed, then the same Brazil, and *mestizaje* more generally, have been described as racial hell.

Latin America has in any case experienced a new ethnogenesis over the last one or two decades – many groups have learned that being ethnically different can be more rewarding than claiming social rights on the basis of class position. More attention needs to be given to these dynamics in Latin America from the perspective of ethnic studies. For example, Afro-Latins and “white” versus “black” relations in Latin America are remarkably absent from the debate on new forms of black ethnicity and the Black Atlantic. This debate has tended to be based on the reality of the English-speaking world, in spite of the fact that the majority of all New World blacks is to be found in the former colonies of Spain and Portugal.

In a welcome and timely endeavor, the book *Etnicidad como estrategia en America Latina y en el Caribe*¹ tries to deal with this complex matter and the specificity of race relations and ethnicity in Latin America. This collectively written book is a revised version of the preparatory report for the Conference “Ethnicity as strategy” of the Dutch workgroup on Latin America and the Caribbean which was held in 1992.

After a general introduction on the growing importance of ethnicity worldwide and the development of a modern terminology on this issue within the social sciences, the book, which in the preface announces itself in a rather humble fashion as an introduction to the theme of ethnicity written by non-specialists, sets out to demonstrate the pervasiveness of ethnic categories in Latin American history. The second chapter focuses, first, on the static interpretations of the notion of community, second, on the ethnic division in New Spain and on the use of ethnicity in “primitive” and/or relatively isolated communities of native Americans and the descendants of maroons in this century. The third chapter deals with nation building and the redefinition of citizenship and hegemony in post-colonial Latin America which had to incorporate the thus far excluded Indians and Afro-Latins. A particular form of universalism was applied which combined eugenic projects and genetic engineering with “heterophobia” (a planned effort to discourage the formation of politically meaningful ethnic groups, in particular among the socially underprivileged) and, starting in the 1920s, the creation of official discourses on the new national “race” that had to be created by biological as well as cultural *mestizaje*. Over the last decades in official discourses, but also in popular and oppositionary discourses, racial democracy and the importance of class and status rather than ethnic origin have been the creed – although, as the book reminds us, this does not mean that the elite did not often see the lower classes as being ethnically “different.” Popular forms of universalism coexisted with

more sophisticated versions of universalism among the elite. In any case, more recently ethnicity seems to have been rediscovered also in Latin America. New categories are created that, in a way, seem to be inspired rather by the more essentialist classification systems of the colonial era than by later constructions of social races, like the notion of *calidad*. Categories such as *indio* and *negro* acquire renewed elan. The fourth and last chapter focuses on migration or, as the book puts it, the diaspora within the Caribbean – from the Caribbean to the United States and from Latin America and the Caribbean to Western Europe.

This small book gives a good overview of the issue and by its modern, eclectic approach differentiates itself from most of the other attempts to compare race relations and ethnicity in Latin America with those of more polarized, essentialist systems – which tend to focus either on cultural or on demographic and economic factors.

Its limitations are perhaps the result of a desire to deal with ethnicity in Latin America and the Caribbean in merely 152 pages and of the large collective authorship. It would have been better to focus more explicitly on only one socio-cultural region, its internal variants, and its singularity in the context of other regions – Latin America, the Caribbean or the “plantation society.” This way Latin America is, as it were, hegemonizing the book, but its specificity as to the ethnic game in comparison with other regions is never quite exactly spelled out. If the second and the third chapters of the book discuss the core of the question, the chapter on migration stands too much on its own. I would have chosen to focus on immigration to and within Latin America rather than expanding on the complicated issue of a diaspora from the region. A more courageous selection of what to focus on might have prevented a few generalizations and the stingy use of references – a real pity for those teachers who will use *Etnicidad como estrategia en America Latina y en el Caribe* as a textbook in their introductory courses on ethnicity. Just two examples. In the paragraph on the incorporation of tribal communities in colonial Brazil we have to do without a single reference and in the paragraph on the maroon communities there is only one.

This is a stimulating introductory book that can certainly contribute positively to the academic debate on the role of ethnicity in today’s Latin America. It can help making Latin Americanists aware of the relevance of ethnicity in the region while stimulating those who are interested in ethnic studies to consider the particular ethnic history of Latin America and its people.

NOTE

1. First published in Dutch as *Etniciteit als strategie in Latijns-Amerika en de Caraïben* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 1994).

Nations Unbound: Transnational Projects, Postcolonial Predicaments, and Deterritorialized Nation-States. LINDA BASCH, NINA GLICK SCHILLER & CRISTINA SZANTON BLANC. Langhorne PA: Gordon and Breach, 1994. vii + 344 pp. (Cloth US\$ 45.00, Paper US\$ 22.00)

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Late in his life, Solon Kimball delivered a lecture on culture shock in which he described women in American colonies in China who wore exaggerated bouffant hair styles while their husbands dusted off long-abandoned social games and their children pledged allegiance so adamantly that the stars and stripes nearly waved by force of their breath. If intense nationalism and exile once encouraged overcompensation of this sort, this latest phase of global capitalism may be erasing exile through the diffusion of technologies of communication and shipping and by encouraging the resistances of ethnicity. In *Nations Unbound*, authors Basch, Glick Schiller, and Szanton Blanc argue that today's international labor migrants, refugees, and others living abroad do not leave their homelands as much as they carry their homelands with them, at first dragging little bits of cultural paraphernalia and later building invisible yet sturdy bridges of network and family ties. In the poet John Ashbery's words, "They say the town is coming apart. And people walk around with a fragment of a smile missing from their faces." Why? Because other fragments of the smile, these authors suggest, are lodged among the mirrored spectacles and corrugated zinc roofs of New York City, Trinidad, and Manila. The whole smile hasn't yet occurred. It is occurring.

The strength of the argument presented here lies in the authors' explication of the *process* of transnationalism, how borders become more and less important as families, villages, countries, and peoples – unwilling and unable to feed themselves from the meager and capitalism-beleaguered resources of home – distribute hearts and minds into several nations. This

is an analysis written in the active voice. Two chapters of definitions and theory introduce three fascinating case studies of people who form, transform, and reproduce households over thousands of miles, profiling St. Vincentians and Grenadians, Haitians, and Filipinos. Four propositions drawn principally from Wallerstein and Wolf frame the overall discussion, questioning our ideas of bounded social fields and seating the experiences of migrants in the shifting processes of global capitalism, race, and ethnicity. While the theoretical and historical discussions themselves are superficial, the ethnographic work that the authors bring to these histories and theoretical positions reflects on them in original ways. Racial discrimination and emerging ethnic and national identities in receiving countries, combined with the continuing lack of investment and employment opportunities in the home countries, encourage creative responses to the hungers of labor markets and political campaigns. Spreading themselves over three and four countries, families share the responsibilities of production and reproduction as different members negotiate for differential access to the rewards of years of sacrifice.

The most interesting chapters begin and move forward by means of vignettes of migrants' experiences, always set against the self-conscious appearances and political acts of statesmen that signal their recognition of how dispersed their power bases have become. The weakest point of the analysis is that the words and deeds of politicians are given too much weight, leading us to believe that Vincentians, Grenadians, Haitians, and Filipinos are far more unified than they are and that their collective voice speaks to the vision of the Diaspora. Class divisions within Haitian communities in the United States, linked to the factors responsible for the origins of various migrations, are touched upon only lightly. Similarly, the chronologies of political and economic developments in migrants' home countries are often too glib to be telling.

Far more enlightening than the public rhetoric and activities of self-proclaimed migrant leaders are the migrants' daily struggles of identity that emerge from the more culturally sensitive parts of the text. Using the metaphor of layering, the chapter on Vincentians and Grenadians in New York illustrates how identity can become embedded in and dislodged from international, national, and local currents of class, color, ethnicity, and allegiance. Issues of identity continually motivate political actions and alliances between African Americans and immigrants from the Caribbean. Within these broader questions of identity, these Vincentians and Grenadians are busy surviving, exploiting tiny transnational niches of communication and shipping, and using the proceeds of such ventures to improve their class positions at home.

I note one problem of voice and one of substance. Early in the volume, the authors describe heated arguments that led to what they consider a new view of migrant experience. These apartment scenes are distracting. More troubling, however, is that the authors never confront the contradiction between deterritorialized nation-states and the obvious interests among migrants in the meanings they derive from homelands in general and real estate in particular. Households and networks, it's true, span international boundaries. But concrete block houses, yards that receive the placentas of newborns, grave sites, and other highly rooted dimensions of these migrants' experiences lie at the ends of long and often grueling lives of separation and sacrifice. It is, in fact, against this background of territory, woven so tightly with the production and reproduction of home, that the politicians' – if not the authors' – claims of representation seem suspect.

French and West Indian: Martinique, Guadeloupe and French Guiana Today. RICHARD D.E. BURTON & FRED RÉNO (eds.). Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia; London: Macmillan Caribbean, 1995. xii + 202 pp. (Cloth US\$ 42.50, Paper US\$ 15.00, £13.95)

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This project extends debates over culture, politics, and literature in Martinique, Guadeloupe, and Guyane, offering much to both scholars of these issues and those seeking an introduction to them. However, the volume would have been strengthened by a fuller exploration of the ways in which the hemisphere's *départements d'outre-mer* ("overseas departments," or DOM) have constituted metropolitan France as much as the metropole has constituted its (former) colonies.

"The Frenchness of the DOM is undeniable," Richard Burton writes on the volume's first page, signaling a preoccupation with the verticality of this relationship that runs through all the contributions. This Frenchness is located above all in a "mentality," in an enduring "identification" with republicanism by Antilleans of color which was the impetus behind the post-war departmentalization of the "old colonies" (p. 2). But for Burton the consequences of department status are nefarious: it has not only led to

an economic situation he aptly calls one of "all superstructure and no base" (p. 4), but it has replaced "traditional Creole culture" with a homogenizing metropolitan one (p. 5). All this leaves Antilleans and Guyanais in a "double-bind" which has caused them to "assert ... one identity (as French) by denying another (as West Indians)" (p. 3).

The four essays following the introduction address politics in the DOM. Helen Hintjens provides a helpful overview of the place of the DOM in French constitutional history. Fred Réno offers a structural analysis of the French and Césairean administrative models in Martinique, but this essay is too steeped in the language of political science to captivate the less specialized reader. Jean-Paul Eluther argues that politics in Guadeloupe is now characterized by consensus, but he relies excessively on mass psychology and the notion of a homogeneous "Guadeloupean community," and obliterates long histories of struggle. Bridget Jones and Elie Stephenson, in surveying not only politics, but population, economy, and culture in Guyane, cover so much that they neglect the central problematic of contestation over the content and meaning of "Creole" culture there.

Three more essays treat the place of the DOM in transnational circuits. Emmanuel Jos covers much ground in arguing that the concerns of the DOM have been only afterthoughts in the construction of the European Union, but a tighter focus on specific disputes over Antillean banana production or "cultural specificity" would better illustrate the challenges posed to the DOM by Europe, and vice versa. Maurice Burac rightly stresses the relative lack of horizontal solidarity between the French Antilles and the wider Caribbean, though without fully contrasting histories of regional contact before and after departmentalization. Alain Anselin's contribution on Antillean migration to metropolitan France – now the "third island" of the French Antilles – stresses the precariousness of the Antillean community in the metropole. He pithily observes that as metropolitan goods arrive in the Antilles, "human beings depart" (p. 113).

Michel Giraud outlines a classic model of racial hierarchy in Martinique and insists on its durability, but ignores challenges to it from experiences of migration and changing senses of racial or cultural affiliation, particularly among young people. Arlette Gautier properly emphasizes the barriers Antillean women face to social and economic equality, but overwhelms the reader with infelicitous prose and statistics on women's status that contradict each other. Its presence here only serves to highlight the volume's general lack of reflection on the ways notions of gender permeate Antillean society.

Essays on intellectual and literary life conclude the volume. Richard Burton summarizes three major (largely Martinican) intellectual move-

ments, offering an intelligent contextualization of the moment of *négritude* and a critical analysis of its logical failings, a sensitive elaboration of the key concepts of *antillanité* and its insistence on the necessary multiplicity of identity in the Caribbean (epitomized by the image of the tangled roots of the mangrove), and a reading of the polemical *créolité* movement as progressive in theory but sometimes retrogressively referring back to an idealized rural past. Here one wishes only for a sense of the resonance, if any, of these ideas in daily life. Beverly Ormerod's essay on literature since 1970 is a helpful introduction to individual works, especially those of Edouard Glissant and Maryse Condé.

The volume's main shortcoming is an excessive reliance on a notion of irreducible difference between the DOM and metropolitan France. The contributors do not engage with the insight of contemporary colonial and postcolonial studies that colonies and metropolises are best understood as parts of a single analytic field rather than distinct poles of analysis; and indeed, C.L.R. James and Sidney Mintz have both incisively argued that the Caribbean is the site which made possible the emergence of modern France and Europe. Thus analyses of law, administration, and trade might be cast differently if the DOM were conceptualized less as anomalies in metropolitan history and more as laboratories of administrative or legal reform, as locales where state-building and modernity were advanced or consolidated before they were in the metropole, as sites which now contest the very definition of "Europe." The challenge of "think[ing] West Indian," in Burton's words, in the shadow of a culturally and linguistically threatening metropole (p. 19) is also altered if France and the Antilles are taken not as stable, distinct totalities, but as locations on the same field of historical struggle, as components of a single contentious cultural project yet in process. If "the Frenchness of the DOM is undeniable," is the Caribbeanness of France, however uneven it may be, any less undeniable?

Tourism Marketing and Management in the Caribbean. DENNIS J. GAYLE & JONATHAN N. GOODRICH. New York: Routledge, 1993. xxvi + 270 pp. (Cloth US\$ 59.95)

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The image of the Caribbean marketed to prospective holiday makers in the First World is a realm of fun, sun, sea, sand, recreation, and romance. Behind this façade, however, there are grave problems for many of the purveyors of pleasure in this holiday "paradise." In the reasoning of the *Economist Intelligence Unit* (December 1991), tourism expenditure in the United States and Western Europe has practically reached a peak, having attained the equivalent of 15 percent of total post-tax income. According to this source, it is only in Japan that consumers still have sufficient disposable income to considerably augment spending on holiday travel. This problematic haunts *Tourism Marketing and Management in the Caribbean*.

While its avowed focus is on present problems, the book in effect envisions the future and the advancement of so-called "new tourism" within the Caribbean Basin. Its most glaring defect is perhaps that it proceeds from a woeful ignorance of the past. Throughout the book's many chapters it appears as though tourism in the Caribbean is purely a post-World War II apparition (and indeed, most of the authors portray it as little more than two or three decades old). Given this historical myopia, the book speaks of health-care tourism, for example, as something veritably new, as though young Major George Washington had not accompanied his ailing brother, Lawrence, to Barbados in 1751-52 in search of health care, and as though it was not customary as early as 1740 for invalids from North America to seek winter refuge in the islands of the Bahamas. All historical allusions in the book are regrettably drawn from the experience of Europe, whereas it was as a sanitarium that Jamaica had advertised itself in the beginning in the late nineteenth century, trumpeting its therapeutic mineral baths and healthsome mountain air. Today, among Caribbean destinations, Cuba with its massive medical infrastructure has without doubt most consciously tried to utilize health care as a promotional plank, though neither the paper on health-care tourism nor that on the Castro government's tourism thrust seems aware of these data.

Health-care tourism aside, there are of course multiple other species of the industry, such as sports tourism, ethnic tourism, heritage tourism, eco-tourism, cruise holidays, and so on. Each, it may be presumed, has specialized promotional needs; but the book does not target every form for individualized discussion. The chapters are the work of eighteen contributors, including tourism directors, senior industry managers, government officials, consultants, academics, and the Secretary General of the Caribbean Tourism Organization. Considering this diverse group, there are expectedly tensions between some of the viewpoints articulated. In a sense the papers replicate the tensions discussed by Gwendoline Williams in her portrayal of the Trinidadian effort to formulate a tourism development strategy premised upon governmental consultation with a wide cross-section of the population. Nevertheless, to identify tensions within the narrative is not to highlight a weakness of the book but rather its strength in juxtaposing contending perspectives and offering them up for analysis. Vigilant readers will need to adhere at all times to the editors' caveat (p. 3) and distinguish between growth and development in their assessments.

On examining the text, tensions abound; see, for example, that between Auliana Poon's analysis of the all-inclusives and the results of a 1991 Carl Stone poll. Gayle's piece (pp. 46-47) cites the study by Stone which shows a grass roots response to the all-inclusive concept rather different from Poon's exuberant depiction. The fact is that the all-inclusives have typically been all exclusives, shutting out locals socially and, some complain, financially. A no less flagrant instance of tension in the book is the conflict inherent in the view of Robert Dickinson and that of several other contributors to the publication. As Chairman of the Cruise Lines International Association and Senior Vice President of Sales and Marketing at Carnival Cruise Lines, Dickinson presents an outlook on the sectoral prospects of the cruise industry that strikes a decidedly discordant note with many of the other analyses. The Secretary General of the Caribbean Tourism Organization himself has observed that what is good for the cruise business may not necessarily be good for Caribbean Basin tourism as a whole.

The cruise lines are posing a serious challenge to Caribbean hotels, which currently make a greater contribution to the economies of the region than they do ... [Moreover,] as shopping facilities on board ship have become more sophisticated, and an important source of revenue for the cruise lines themselves, there is an increasing concern that the economic impact of cruise ships will be less while they draw more and more passengers from land to ship-based holidays." (p. 213)

Reading Gayle and Goodrich, it is difficult not to form an impression of potentially diminishing returns from tourism, through the growing numbers of both cruise ships and all-inclusives. How to integrate the tourism sector socially and economically into national and regional development strategies is the ultimate problematic in the book.

Structural Adjustment: Public Policy and Administration in the Caribbean. JOHN LA GUERRE (ed.). St. Augustine: School of Continuing Studies, University of the West Indies, 1994. vii + 258 pp. (Paper n.p.)

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Small size, political subordination, and economic fragility are some of the unmistakable features of Caribbean countries. The combined effect of these features is both political and economic vulnerability, which create dilemmas and difficulties across the entire societal landscape of countries in the region. This vulnerability and the resulting dilemmas and difficulties are often dramatized by certain initiatives and phenomena. Structural adjustment is one of them.

The book under review offers a probing and balanced examination of the dynamics of structural adjustment and the numerous ways in which it both manifests and exacerbates the political and economic vulnerability of the Caribbean. Several contributors to the volume explain correctly that structural adjustment is not just about economic management; it is as much about social, economic, and political adaptation. Ironically, while structural adjustment dramatizes some of the socio-economic and political realities of the region, some political actors there try to use it to mask other realities, including incompetent government planning, administrative inefficiency, corruption, and patronage, or as an excuse for them.

Structural Adjustment is generally well written, with a good balance between description and analysis. It also brings together the intellectual resources of some established Caribbean scholars, including La Guerre, Ramesh Ramsaran, and Neville Duncan, and junior, but no less competent ones, such as André-Vincent Henry – who, regrettably, has left academia – and Bishnu Ragoonath. Moreover, one of the contributors – Brinsley Samaroo – who is now in academia, once worked in the rough and tumble

of politics and public policy, and thus is able to bring to his analysis the benefits of both the academic and the policy vantage points.

Most chapters do an excellent job in assessing the modalities, implications, and impact of structural adjustment in a regional context, many of them providing country-specific examples to reinforce arguments. However, there is a marked imbalance between general regional assessments and specific country appraisals. Only four of the eleven chapters are country studies, and three of them deal with Trinidad and Tobago. The other focuses on Barbados. Regrettably, certain countries where structural adjustment has provided some of the most dramatic and traumatic evidence of heightened vulnerability – Jamaica and Guyana included – are neglected.

On the more mundane side, it would have been good for the volume to have had a more consistent production style. Some chapters carry footnotes, others in-text references, and still others have both. Closer editorial scrutiny would also have revealed problems with incomplete citation (in Chapter 2) and unclear citation (in Chapter 3). These apart, *Structural Adjustment* is a valuable addition to scholarship on the Caribbean.

"Subject People" and Colonial Discourses: Economic Transformation and Social Disorder in Puerto Rico, 1898-1947. KELVIN A. SANTIAGO-VALLES. Albany: State University of New York Press, 1994. xiii + 304 pp. (Paper US\$ 16.95)

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"Subject People" and Colonial Discourses is a historical-sociological study that seeks to establish and explain the connections among "colonialism, economic transformation, punitive structures, and discourse production" (p. 6). It is organized chronologically, with chapters covering the periods 1898-1909, 1910-21, 1922-29, 1930-39, and 1940-47. Each one begins with a brief analysis of the period's economic changes and ensuing social ramifications, followed by a discussion of popular social disorder and the reactions of the colonial ruling class and its Creole associates.

The book rests on a heavily-theoretical base stemming from recent

works in the area of postcolonial studies and the vast literature on otherness. In some instances, however, Santiago-Valles's application of the various theoretical frameworks and conceptualizations is excessive and seems to add little to the concrete Puerto Rican experiences being studied. The lack of correspondence between some of the theoretical components and the specifics of the Puerto Rican case may very well be the result of the fact that Puerto Rico was, and is, a profoundly westernized society. Orientalist theories and the like may illuminate the U.S. imperialist component of Puerto Rico's recent history but in order to understand the Puerto Ricans' responses to colonialism and capitalism one must recognize the Spanish legacies of corporatist society, of inherited hierarchies, and of high regard for honor and prestige – all of which clash frontally with a competing set of violent exclusions associated with monopoly capitalism (i.e. the tyranny of the market as applied to workers and commodities). In the case of twentieth-century Puerto Rico, one may add, the cultural manifestations of feudal exclusion and exploitation persisted – and continue to persist – alongside the newer structural, market-driven forms of exclusion and exploitation.

"Subject People" and Colonial Discourses puts forward several important contributions that suggest manifold avenues for further historical and sociological inquiry. One of these is its broad chronological range, which contrasts with the narrower scope of many recent works on Puerto Rico and allows Santiago-Valles to establish connections that would otherwise be missed, such as those between the *tiznados*' vengeful violence of 1898-1903 and the labor strikes of the 1910s and 1930s, and the repressive responses of the U.S. military in 1898-1900 and the colonial governments of the period 1910-40. An overarching theme throughout the book is the elites' construction of the laboring classes' social behavior as wayward, feminine, childlike, and criminal. Another theme that could be traced over the five decades covered in the book is the emergence of "[t]wo major sign systems" that represented the tensions between the mostly black and mulatto "coastal/town laborers" and the lighter-skinned rural work force (pp. 43-44). Until very recently this cleavage manifested itself in a political polarity along clearly delineated geographic lines.

Another theme that runs through the book is the author's attention to structural conditions that forced the Puerto Rican laboring classes away from the culturally ingrained patterns of resistance to, and independence from, the forces of the labor marketplace. The loss of access to land and the concomitant threat of hunger, Santiago-Valles maintains, were the principal factors forcing the otherwise independent labor force to work for others at below-survival wages. The same forces pushed large segments of the

island's female population into the highly exploitative needlework industry. Attention to another constant in the laboring classes' response to economic transformations and social changes – mass emigration – would have further strengthened Santiago-Valles' thesis since emigration was, in a sense, the ultimate form of resistance to the onslaught of monopoly capital.

In sum, this book stands as a needed addition to the still minuscule body of historiography on twentieth-century Puerto Rico. If readers can patiently wade through the oftentimes obfuscating allusions to scores of theorists, they will find stimulating angles of inquiry and important interpretive contributions.

Exposing Prejudice: Puerto Rican Experiences of Language, Race, and Class. BONNIE URCIUOLI. Boulder: Westview Press, 1996. xiv + 222 pp. (Cloth US\$ 69.00, Paper US\$ 18.95)

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Bonnie Urciuoli's analysis of the language prejudice experienced by Puerto Rican adults on the Lower East Side of Manhattan stands shoulder to shoulder with Catherine Walsh's *Pedagogy and the Struggle for Voice* (1991), which addresses the speech of adolescents, and Ana Celia Zentella's *Growing up Bilingual* (1997), which deals with the speech of children, to complete the much-needed ethnolinguistic picture of Puerto Ricans in the United States.

The primary focus of this complex and thought-provoking book is the conflation of race, class, ethnicity, and language in the United States and its effect upon the lives of working-class Puerto Ricans. In her analysis, Urciuoli distinguishes "racialization" and "ethnicization." Racialized people are seen as disordered, dangerous, and disinclined to participate in personal or national advancement, while ethnicized people are viewed as orderly, safe, and striving toward class mobility. Although both are marked in relation to generic white, middle-class, English-speaking Americans, ethnicized people act like Americans in certain critical ways (e.g., family values, work ethic, and educational goals), while racialized people fail to exhibit the attributes considered vital to an American identity.

Most U.S. ethnic groups were once racialized (e.g., Irish, Italians, Jews, and Chinese); however, those who were colonized or enslaved and resisted the loss of their native language varieties (e.g., Afro-Americans, Native Americans, Puerto Ricans, and Mexicans) continue to be perceived as racially distinct and unassimilated. Racialized groups are stereotyped as non-producers who should be excluded, while ethnicized groups (though perhaps physically distinct) are judged as people who make an economic contribution and therefore are worthy of respect. If ethnicized groups use foreign languages or have an accent, these features are seen as enriching and picturesque, while the vernaculars of racialized groups are considered to be inferior, threats to social stability, and obstacles to social success.

Racialized people face tremendous language prejudice and are forced to negotiate strategies for survival. Some of these serve to ethnicize and thus elevate them socially (e.g., learning "good" English or pretending not to know their vernacular), and some turn them into non-participants and objects of manipulation (e.g., pretending not to know any English and refusing to defend themselves verbally). They may also fall into parallel racializing prejudices toward individuals in power positions and conflate race and moral values (e.g., stereotyping whites as cold, controlling, and greedy). While ethnicization might be viewed as a pragmatic solution to their dilemma, it actually perpetuates racialization since it does not resolve the "markedness" issue. As Urciuoli explains: "Marked Americans either succeed as good ethnics or fail as members of a raced underclass. In either case, the goal, never quite achievable, is to be unmarked" (p. 38).

Urciuoli's basic thesis is that Puerto Ricans in the United States are treated as a racialized group, and their everyday bilingual speech is disallowed by outsiders. "Whenever English speakers complain about the 'unfairness' of hearing Spanish spoken in public spaces or in the workplace, they racialize Spanish by treating it as matter out of place" (p. 35). Since Puerto Ricans have not limited their ethnicity to festivals and parades which are safe, emblematic displays and familiar commodities in American society, they are viewed with suspicion. According to Urciuoli, Spanish and English among Puerto Rican adults must be analyzed in terms of "inner and outer sphere" functions, since linguistic variants stigmatized in public arenas are often valued in private interaction. She explains in detail how Puerto Ricans became racialized and explores the political topography of bilingualism in Puerto Rican communities. She also considers how "good" English has become "symbolic capital" in U.S. society and outlines the metacommunicative politics of exclusion and solidarity.

Perhaps the greatest strength of her analysis is its reliance on the opinions and perceptions of the people she interviews. As she probes the

linguistic and social boundaries of their lives, her interviewees (who are rarely in a position to vent their feelings) sound out loud and clear on such issues as: how to be an American, acting white, racial teasing, respect, and self-defense. The copious and extended quotations from actual interviews are more than just descriptive; they form the backbone of the analysis. As she puts it: "What they know about the racialization of language, and the conflation of race and class is as much theory as data" (p. 179).

This superlative book should be mandatory reading for anyone interested in the interrelation of language, race, and class, the experiences of linguistic minorities, or the analysis of Puerto Rican culture in the United States.

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Machos, Maricones, and Gays: Cuba and Homosexuality. IAN LUMSDEN. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1996. xxvii + 263 pp. (Cloth US\$ 49.95, Paper US\$ 18.95)

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Cuba has become a popular topic for research on the politics of sexuality, which is not surprising given the country's increasingly isolated position as a socialist regime in a global shift toward laissez-faire capitalism. This is a worthy subject of enquiry as there may be much one can learn about the relationship between sexual behavior and political ideology through the examination of a radical socio-political transformation. On the other hand, one must recognize limitations in strict linkages between politics and sexuality – culture and history must be figured into such an analysis. In *Machos, Maricones, and Gays*, Ian Lumsden successfully transcends these limitations in some ways, but not in others.

The book's title bears remarkable similarity to Marvin Leiner's 1994 book, *Sexual Politics in Cuba: Machismo, Homosexuality, and AIDS* (reviewed in *NWIG* 70 [3&4]). Some of Lumsden's arguments are similar to Leiner's analysis of the relationship between Cuban homosexuals, the hegemony of machismo, and the revolutionary regime of Fidel Castro, primarily in his critiques of state attitudes towards homosexuality. Both authors outline the regime's shift from aggressively homophobic education, health, and legal policies in the 1960s and 1970s to a more tolerant (albeit within a limited scope) outlook in the 1990s. Leiner and Lumsden are also in agreement in their prescriptions for change in Cuban politics in terms of policies towards homosexuality: The government "must allow for democratization of the whole country," writes Lumsden (p. 199), so that diverse opinions and interests can be articulated in public forums.

Lumsden fills in the gaps left in Leiner's more institutional account through ethnographic sections which outline day-to-day life for Cubans (Chapter 1) and homosexual Cubans (Chapter 7), emphasizing shifts in attitudes toward gender and sexuality since 1959. Throughout these sections and much of the rest of the book, Lumsden contrasts homosexuality in Cuba with Costa Rica, Mexico, and North America. Another comparative matrix is set up between homosexuals and two other traditionally oppressed groups in Cuba, women and Afro-Cubans. Generally, both comparative approaches work well; the international comparison identifies connections and differences between Cuba and its Latin and North American neighbors; and the intra-national comparison demonstrates the government's gradual and grudging recognition of gender and racial inequalities while continuing to maintain a heterosexist bias (p. 180). One particularly insightful comparison analyzes why certain elements in narratives of North American gay identity such as "coming out" do not carry similar significance for Cuban homosexuals. For the latter, Lumsden argues, this would be a divisive action threatening ties to the family, an institution which continues to be of central importance in Cuban social life. Furthermore, other issues such as finding work and resolving food shortages and transportation are considered more important in the current crisis (p. 131).

The descriptions of life in Cuba reminded me of Ruth Benedict's *The Chrysanthemum and the Sword* (1946) in their nationalist focus and eminently readable and engaging style. Yet they also carry some of the shortcomings of this anthropological approach in their broad, sweeping generalizations about the "national" culture of Cuba. At times Lumsden risks perpetuating popular stereotypes when he talks of "the good nature" in Cuban public culture or claims that the people of Havana "remain

unmistakably Latin" (p. 7). Shades of a Latin version of Edward Said's *Orientalism* begin to creep into the picture, and do no justice to the diversified portrait that emerges elsewhere in the book. In order to sustain this description of nationalistic culture, Lumsden downplays other potentially differentiating social forces such as the influence of African culture in sexual beliefs and Cuban culture overall (pp. 41-42). This continues to be a debated topic in Caribbean anthropology but as Mintz and Price have noted, quoting historian C. Vann Woodward, "so far as their culture is concerned, all Americans are part Negro" (1992:82), a claim which is equally applicable to Cubans. In other words, one should not take at face value statements that proclaim black culture in Cuba is "devalued" (p. 41). This marginalizes Cubans who distinguish themselves as Afro-Cuban and it does not allow for research into the ways in which Afro-Cuban cultural beliefs and practices may be integrated into the wider Cuban social spectrum.

My only other misgiving lies with a few passages on "development" which contain ethnocentric assumptions about tradition. In exploring ways to challenge homophobia, Lumsden states, "Economic, social, and cultural development ideally frees individuals and societies from traditional restraints" (p. xvi). This application of liberal humanism is based on certain assumptions of individualism that may or may not be relevant in the Cuban context. Lumsden demonstrates elsewhere the centrality of family and community relations, indicating that the self is constituted in a different web of relations with differing priorities. We should not assume that the "marginalized" will automatically view the "lifting" of traditional restraints as "freedom." They may very well choose otherwise, especially if sexual identity and behavior are interpreted within different cosmological and relational fields.

Overall, *Machos, Maricones, and Gays* successfully achieves its objective to prove that the present situation of homosexual Cubans must be viewed in a broad political and historical context. This is a book that also manages to convey some of the pleasures of daily life as well as outlining all too clearly the oppressive constraints imposed upon this segment of Cuban society through a combination of political and gendered ideologies.

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Haitian Frustrations: Dilemmas for U.S. Policy. GEORGES A. FAURIOL (ed.). Washington DC: Center for Strategic & International Studies, 1995. xii + 236 pp. (Paper US\$ 24.95)

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This informative volume offers what might be termed the American "conventional wisdom" on the last decade of Haitian history. Many of its contributors – Ernest H. Preeg, Elliott Abrams, Lawrence Pezzullo, Sally Yearwood – have in the recent past been directly involved in the making of U.S. policy toward Haiti. The book examines the continuing political crisis that has plagued the island from the fall of the Duvalier dictatorship in 1986 to the 1994 American military intervention that restored the democratically elected government of Jean-Bertrand Aristide. One of its main findings is that the American intervention was prompted by the Haitian refugee crisis rather than well-defined policy objectives or significant strategic interests. The intervention will thus fail to implant democratic rule in the country unless it is followed by a strong U.S. commitment for a long-term program of economic and political assistance. Without such a commitment – a commitment that seems improbable – Haiti is likely to fall again into its customary authoritarianism.

According to the contributors to this volume, the fall of the Duvalier dictatorship did not resolve Haiti's historical failure to develop any type of democratic traditions. They contend that Haiti has always lacked a powerful "political center" on whose foundations institutions capable of generating a democratic culture could be built. Not surprisingly, virtually all of the contributors to *Haitian Frustrations* agree with Elliott Abrams, President Reagan's Assistant Secretary for Inter-American Affairs, that the principal goal of the United States since the departure of Jean-Claude Duvalier is the coming to power of "a moderate, centrist government" (p.

69). In this perspective, American foreign policy ought to promote the creation of such a "political center."

The problem with this conventional wisdom is that it never defines clearly the concept of "political center" in a class-divided and polarized society like Haiti. Is the political center the business community? the "reformist" wing of a thoroughly reactionary elite? the American trained officer corps? the CIA sponsored paramilitary group, "Front for the Advancement and Progress of Haiti" (FRAPH)? or the leaders of civic associations? In short, what is the "political center" and what interests would it promote? Moreover, how large and representative is this "political center," given the huge economic and educational inequalities separating the wealthy minority and the poor peasant and urban majority? The concept of "political center" is thus at best problematic, and at worst an empty slogan.

As Robert Maguire – the sole contributor seeking to give critical meaning to the concept – argues: the idea that Haiti has no political center is perhaps true only if "the traditional, established actors of the Haitian 'state' are considered. But if the search for Haiti's center is extended beyond ... the political class that has continually and systematically failed to encompass the Haitian nation, the source of Haiti's center – and the future of its democracy and development – is readily apparent. Haiti's center lies in its grassroot organizers" (p. 149). It is precisely because American policy makers and most Haiti experts have always searched for a center in the ruling elite that they have supported figures such as Raoul Cédras, the leader of the coup against Aristide, or Marc Bazin, a World Bank economist with a very limited popular base. This misguided belief in an imaginary center also prompted the CIA to create the murderous FRAPH as a "counterforce" to Aristide's *Lavalas* movement.

The elusive search for the center has its roots in the traditional U.S. fear of any radical transformation of Haiti's society. Moreover, the fact that historically the United States has always supported the Haitian elites and the military rather than the popular sectors explains why the coup leaders and their civilian allies in the ruling class never believed that the American government was seriously committed to Aristide's return. The Haitian elites, as well as the military, were convinced that the external forces advocating the reinstatement of Aristide had neither the will nor the power to impose this return. Their conviction was further strengthened when the U.S. warship *Harlan County*, sent in accordance with the Governors Island Agreement, failed to dock in Haiti in October 1993. Fearing a violent confrontation with FRAPH's thugs, the *Harlan County*, carrying

nearly 200 American troops on a noncombat mission to prepare the island for Aristide's return, pulled out of Haitian waters.

The *Harlan County* episode contributed therefore to the Haitian elite's miscalculations on the future of American policy. In spite of an economic embargo and multiple threats, the military refused to step down. The military remained rhetorically defiant even after Clinton's unambiguous speech of September 15, 1994 threatening military action. It was only on September 18 – when they had been told by an American mission headed by former President Jimmy Carter and sent to Port-au-Prince at the last moment by President Clinton that American troops and airplanes were in the process of invading Haiti – that General Cédras and the other coup leaders understood that they had to leave. As the former Haitian Premier Robert Malval (1996:482) contends, it is rather naive and indeed “romantic” to assume, as Georges Fauriol and Andrew Faiola do, that the breakthrough occurred because Carter persuaded Cédras's wife, Yannick, to accept the necessity of departing from power.

In reality, the mission headed by Carter and composed of Senator Sam Nunn and former chairman of the Joint Chiefs, General Powell, succeeded only because the invasion was already underway. It was brute force rather than diplomacy or Yannick Cédras's influence on her husband that caused the surrender of the Haitian military. In addition, it is clear that the army had neither the organization nor the will to oppose the American intervention. The idea entertained by some of the contributors to *Haitian Frustrations* that there would have been armed opposition to an American intervention is rather fanciful. Haitian soldiers were busy undressing themselves from their military uniforms once they heard Clinton's speech. As to Cédras and the other coup leaders who had all been on the payroll of the CIA, their only objective was to save their personal wealth and obtain the best possible exit with the help of the U.S. embassy.

Yet, despite its ambiguities and contradictions, the U.S. intervention did return Aristide to the presidency and it represented the only realistic means of doing so. The conditions of that return, however, undermined Aristide's radical populism and compelled the country to surrender control of its economy to the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund. While the contributors to *Haitian Frustrations* welcome this surrender to the economic orthodoxy of structural adjustment, there is little evidence that it will contribute to economic growth, let alone social equity. In fact, in a private draft strategy paper leaked to *The Guardian* (1996), the World Bank itself has estimated that two-thirds of Haiti's peasants will have to emigrate if they are to survive the consequences of structural adjustment. Thus, the promotion of market rationality, free trade, and massive privati-

zation of public assets is likely to generate urban discontent, exacerbate rural inequities, and plunge society into the uncertainties of polarized instability. In such conditions, the consequences of structural adjustment are likely to have gravely debilitating effects on the democratization of Haitian society. The conventional wisdom on the desirability of the free market "shock therapy" espoused by the contributors to *Haitian Frustrations* seems therefore deeply flawed.

In spite of such flaws, the volume is interesting precisely because it embodies a quasi-official view of the United States on the Haitian predicament. It is a view that cannot be ignored, for it is the view of the power that returned Aristide to the presidency, ensured the electoral transition to René Préval, and virtually dictates the economic and security policies of the island. To that extent, *Haitian Frustrations* is a "must read" for anyone interested in understanding the fears, hopes, and strategic intentions of Washington toward the Caribbean nation.

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More Than Chattel: Black Women and Slavery in the Americas. DAVID BARRY GASPAR & DARLENE CLARK HINE (eds.). Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1996. xi + 341 pp. (Cloth US\$ 39.95, Paper US\$ 18.95)

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The fields of slavery, slave societies, and women's history are brought together by editors Gaspar and Hine in this new collection of essays on slave women in the Americas, a group that is often marginalized in the historiography of slavery. Scholars have too often lumped slaves together without regard to gender when considering slave societies. This study of slave women, using a wide variety of sources, gives a more diverse view into the nature of slavery for both women and men. Three major sections

define what the editors intended as a thematic approach to the subject: the African background from which the women came, daily life and the labor the women were expected to do as workers, and the methods of resistance to slavery used by women both as part of groups and as individuals. In the introductory essay, Claire Robertson explores various forms of African slavery as well as patterns of manumission within African societies. She then turns to the impact of American slavery on African traditions of slavery, labor patterns, marriage and family formation, matriarchy versus matrifocality, and fertility in the slave community. She examines where and how African cultural traditions and sexual divisions of labor might have made the transition to the New World, in whole or part, muted or obvious.

Once in the Americas black women were most valued for their productive capacities. The "Life and Labor" section makes clear that black women resisted the complete domination of work as their only activity, struggling to create some areas of personal or family autonomy. The eight essays focus on areas of health, childrearing, domestic work, life on the frontier, and the black family.

Slave women were part of the general resistance to slavery expressed in low birth rates, marronage, and outright rebellion by groups from the American South to Brazil. Barbara Bush addresses the implications of low birth rates among slave women as a possible strategy of resistance. The women who participated in armed revolts in Antigua, Saint Domingue, and Guadeloupe are the subject of essays by David Barry Gaspar, Bernard Moitt, and David P. Geggus, introducing women who have been largely unseen in past historiography. Collective resistance orchestrated by men was unthinkable without the aid and assistance of women, both field and domestic workers.

Individual women struggled for freedom by the complicated process of seeking manumission or outright purchase of their freedom or that of their children and other family members. Establishing sufficient economic independence was no small achievement and the ways in which urban slave women and free women of color reached such independence are addressed in the concluding essays by Susan M. Socolow and L. Virginia Gould.

The editors express a reservation that the range of papers submitted for this volume do not cover the widest geographical or regional examples of slavery, but this limitation does not detract from the impact of the many individual women introduced in the essays. Mary Karasch focuses on women in Goias on the Brazilian frontier living several months journey from Rio de Janeiro in the nineteenth century, and Robert Olwell describes saucy slave women in the marketplace of Charleston in the eighteenth

century who come alive on the page. Detailed schedules of the cycle of daily and seasonal work on a rice plantation make Cheryll Ann Cody's essay an invaluable tool to use in accurately picturing the physical demands put on women in the plantation economy.

The diversity of the women in this collection of essays reminds us of the varied situations in which black slave women found themselves. The double burden suffered by slave women is driven home in every essay. The immediate demands of childbearing, both physical and emotional, were followed by the threat and reality of the sale of older children, hardships endured by women who had few hours in a week to take care of anything but the most basic of necessities for their families. Wilma King and Brenda E. Stevenson contributed essays on antebellum American slave women and their relationships with children and community. One subject that would have been appropriate in this volume is the role of women in the religious traditions of the slave community and an assessment of how Catholic countries might differ from those countries where more African or Protestant traditions prevailed. Nor is the role of black women in the artistic traditions of music and dance or material culture within the slave community addressed. That lack is balanced by the practical and pragmatic strategies followed by slave women in their daily lives.

A twelve-page selected bibliography rounds out the volume. It is bound to be helpful to students in pursuing the subject of slave women in greater depth. This book makes an important contribution to our understanding of slave women in the Americas while offering ideas for new research directions.

Engendering History: Caribbean Women in Historical Perspective.

VERENE SHEPHERD, BRIDGET BRERETON & BARBARA BAILEY (eds.). Kingston: Ian Randle; London: James Currey, 1995. xxii + 406 pp. (Cloth n.p., Paper n.p.)

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Bridget Brereton's 1988 essay on studying the history of women in the Caribbean ends by citing three elements necessary in future research. The history of Caribbean women must (1) emphasize both the common aspects

and the complexity of Caribbean women's historical experience, (2) provide an awareness and a more in-depth reading of the record by using gender as an analytical category in the retrieval and inclusion of women in writing Caribbean history, and (3) make a new and more fully human history of the region than ever before possible. Co-editors Shepherd, Brereton, and Bailey, and the contributors to this volume have in fact followed this advice.

The book features the historical experiences of women from all the European linguistic groupings of the Caribbean, except Dutch, and focuses on the matrix of domination that is generated by the interrelationship of gender, race, ethnicity, class, and other variables at different points in time on individual lives. In addition, there are essays that continue theoretical debates within women's history, and within history more generally, and introduce research from outside of the Caribbean for comparative considerations.

Engendering History represents a selection of papers presented at an international symposium held in 1993 at University of the West Indies, Mona, hosted by the Department of History and the Centre for Gender and Development, Mona. In addition, four articles were solicited specially for this volume. Organized along topical themes and in chronological order, there are six sections – theory, text and testimony, slavery, post-slavery, protest and political movements, and comparative perspectives. Like many other edited works, the readability and depth of the scholarship vary by essay. Nonetheless, what appears here is of such great significance that it avoids the sorts of criticism that are usually leveled at anthologies. This book is a part of history itself. The interpretations of recorded materials on the lives and experiences of Caribbean women and other women from France and parts of Africa are a tremendous contribution to the field of history and more specifically Caribbean women's history. It documents what has often been fictionalized due to lack of evidence. Better yet, the work documents what was excluded – women as critical agents in the recording of events in Caribbean history. *Engendering History* provides those long awaited data.

Some of the contributors have long been associated with the development of Caribbean women's history (Rosalyn Terborg-Penn, Patricia Mohammed, Bridget Brereton, Hilary McD. Beckles, Digna Castañeda, Jean Stubbs, and Barbara Bailey), while others are relatively new to the scene (Paulette A. Kerr, Linette Vassell, Glory Robertson, and Janice Mayers). Some of the authors are well-established historians (Catherine Hall, Mary Chamberlain). A few are respected historians of the region (Bernard Moitt, Felix V. Matos-Rodríguez, Swithin Wilmot, Veront M. Satchell) and of

other parts of the world (Richard Goodridge, Jonathan Dalby, Waibinte E. Wariboko). However, following the directions for future Caribbean history outlined by Brereton in the late 1980s, these authors feature a range of methodologies to interpret the past. Besides solid archival work involving facts and documents, research tools also included the examination of testimonies (Brereton, Chamberlain) and the use of photographs and illustrations to chronicle dress as a record of gendered practices (Robertson).

Individual readers will find their particular favorite(s) in this volume, based on their own needs for new information, or thoughts on a particular topic. No matter what the reason, this volume represents a stage in the development of a field that is steadily growing and crossing timelines. For example, Indo-Caribbean women's history is related through materials from Jamaica in the period 1866-1900 (Shepherd), and from Trinidad in 1917-47 (Mohammed). The historiography of a Cuban woman icon, born in the nineteenth century, is analyzed through historical and political interpretations of the meanings her life hold for the present day (Stubbs).

Engendering History is dedicated to two pioneers of the field, the late Elsa Goveia and Lucille Mathurin Mair. These two intellectual foremothers made the way for others to follow, as they did their work at a time when being gender-focused and a woman and being an historian were contradictory terms. As the introduction reminds us, the field of Caribbean women's history is twenty-five years old. One of the goals of those working in this area is to continue to develop the rich intellectual tradition that has moved Caribbean women's experiences away from the margins to the center of historical discourse. This volume admirably does just that.

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From Chattel Slaves to Wage Slaves: The Dynamics of Labour Bargaining in the Americas. MARY TURNER (ed.). Kingston: Ian Randle; Bloomington: Indiana University Press; London: James Currey, 1995. x + 310 pp. (Cloth US\$ 39.95, Paper US\$ 15.95)

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This book includes papers first presented at a 1991 conference which examined the management of slave, contract, and "free" wage laborers in various parts of the world and the responses of the different types of workers. Edited by one of the conference's organizers, the volume under review relates exclusively to the Caribbean and North and South America.

Granted that the editor is a distinguished historian of the Caribbean, it is not surprising that the volume concentrates on that region. Nine of the fourteen essays (aside from the editor's introduction) deal exclusively with the Caribbean; two have considerable material on the region (Chapters 6 and 9); only three deal entirely with the mainland Americas (Chapters 4, 5, and 10). Moreover, there is some bias toward the British islands, especially Jamaica (the subject of three chapters), but there are valuable essays on Suriname (Chapter 7) and Martinique (Chapter 12).

The usual problems with books emanating from conferences include uneven quality among the contributions and a lack of fit between them. The former, inevitably, is not entirely absent here; the majority of the papers are well researched and solidly grounded, but a few are distinctly less substantial. The latter problem is minimal because the 1991 conference was itself tightly focused. Moreover, Turner's introduction is a model of its kind, summarizing the key findings of the fourteen essays, pulling together the salient issues, making the comparative points. She lays out the key premise of the book: all categories of workers – slave, serf, contract, wage – faced essentially similar problems and developed modes of response and struggle which were, consequently, fundamentally similar.

Part I, by far the longest (eight out of fourteen essays), examines the modes of negotiation and labor bargaining developed by slave workers in the Caribbean and North America. In her introduction, Turner notes that this kind of bargaining was neither "rebellion" nor "accommodation," but a form of "resistance" involving systematic negotiations to secure the best possible returns for labor within the parameters of a coercive system of property rights in human beings. Rations, provision grounds, "time off,"

rights to family life, and religious freedom were all crucial to the slaves' bargaining with their owners and managers. Part II includes three essays on nineteenth-century contract immigrant laborers in Brazil, Cuba, Peru, and Trinidad. Finally, Part III looks at three case studies of "negotiations" by Caribbean ex-slaves (or their descendants): in Martinique in the troubled months just after emancipation in 1848; in Jamaica during the Morant Bay Rebellion of 1865; and in St. Kitts between the 1830s and the 1950s.

The major arguments and findings of Part I are developed in the first chapter by Turner herself. This is a previously published, now classic study of labor bargaining by slave workers in St. Thomas (Jamaica) between the 1780s and 1830s, based on estate correspondence. Turner concludes that "the methods of struggle customarily identified with wage workers were first developed by slave workers cognisant of the crucial value of labour power." These traditions and skills of bargaining were carried over into the period of "apprenticeship" (1834-38) and full abolition after August 1838. The Jamaican focus continues in Chapter 2, in which the eminent historian Richard Sheridan returns to the subject of pioneering work by J.H. Parry, Douglas Hall, Sidney Mintz, and himself on the "provision grounds complex" during slavery. His essay concludes that it was "an essentially uncertain method of slave subsistence," whatever other benefits it may have provided to enslaved workers.

Two interesting essays on Georgia and the Chesapeake provide good comparative material. Betty Wood shows (Chapter 4) how Low Country Georgian slaves negotiated claims to *religious* rights and discusses the resulting contestations about Sunday markets. In Chapter 5, Lorena Walsh examines struggles in the Chesapeake region over slave subsistence, work norms, and forced movement of chattel laborers; among other things, she explicitly compares slave subsistence in the Chesapeake and the Caribbean in the 1770-1820 period. Nigel Bolland's focus (Chapter 6) is explicitly comparative: he marshalls a great deal of important information about cash payments to slaves throughout the Americas, especially in the nineteenth century, concluding (echoing Turner) that what slaves learned about the market value of their labor power became the core of their responses as "free" workers.

We return to the Caribbean in Chapters 7 and 8. Rosemary Brana-Shute explores manumission in Paramaribo, Suriname, between 1760 and 1830, in a richly illustrated discussion based on over 2000 *requesten* (petitions for freedom). She concludes that most manumissions were *negotiated* deals between slaves and owners, highly personalized, expensive, requiring know-how, deference and accommodation with the status quo; they were

also rare, and urban domestics, especially women, had a far better chance of achieving them than plantation slaves. In the Bahamas, Howard Johnson shows, the collapse of the always shaky plantation economy meant far greater opportunities for the slaves to exact concessions and to carve out a peasant life-style long before formal emancipation.

In Part II, three essays – by Lucia Lamounier, Michael Gonzales, and Kusha Haraksingh – examine varying experiences of contract immigrant workers brought to Brazil, Cuba, Peru, and Trinidad, mostly in the second half of the nineteenth century. Chinese contract laborers in Cuba and in Peru were enmeshed in a harsh, slave-like regime and responded with strategies similar to those of chattel workers earlier. European immigrants coming to São Paulo coffee estates between the 1840s and the 1880s under various share-cropping and *colonato* schemes had different experiences; so did Japanese contract workers brought to Peru between 1898 and 1923. Despite elaborate protective laws and administrative machinery, indentured Indians working on Trinidad's sugar estates were virtually helpless in the face of the sugar companies' manipulation of wages, worker classification, and task norms.

Dale Tomich's excellent essay on Martinique (Chapter 12) shows how the ex-slaves' bargaining in the months after May 1848 centered on houses, grounds, and customary "rights" established before emancipation, underlining the "continuity" point made by Turner. Similarly, the struggles and grievances of the Jamaican mountain peasants and lowland estate workers, in the decades after 1838, are vividly evoked in Gad Heuman's essay on Morant Bay (Chapter 13), a sort of preview or summary of his fine 1994 book, *The Killing Time*. Fittingly, the last chapter takes the story up to the mid-twentieth century. In a valuable and well-researched essay, Glen Richards examines the strategies of the ex-slaves and their descendants in the small British Caribbean sugar island of St. Kitts. He argues that there was remarkable continuity in aims over the decades: black St. Kittians wanted higher wages and "perfect personal freedom" just as much in 1935 as in 1838, and their strategies to achieve these elusive goals did not differ very significantly in the period before formal trade unionism was established.

This is a valuable collection of essays which gives fresh perspectives and interesting empirical data on the modes of labor bargaining by New World slaves and on the transition from "chattel" to "wage" slavery.

Yellow Jack and the Worm: British Naval Administration in the West Indies, 1739-1748. DUNCAN CREWE. Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1993. x + 321 pp. (Paper £17.50)

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The title of this book highlights the most serious administrative problems the Royal Navy encountered at its Caribbean stations during the wars of 1739-48. The disastrous presence of yellow fever – “yellow jack” – killed thousands of British tars. Disease was more lethal than Spanish or French warships, and the Jamaica and Leeward Islands naval stations earned reputations as death traps. Besides chronic disease, the Admiralty faced the task of keeping warships seaworthy in a region plagued by *teredo navalis*, a worm that thrived in tropical waters and fed off the hulls of wooden vessels. These two problems became “the major preoccupation of the admirals, dockyard officers, and surgeons who served in the West Indies” (p. 9). Crewe supports these arguments persuasively. His refusal to address other scholars’ work, however, limits his achievement by providing inadequate context for the Caribbean’s role in the wars of 1739-48 and by failing to place his study of West Indian naval administration in the historiography of eighteenth-century maritime conflict.

Crewe’s prodigious research in manuscript sources in London, Jamaica, and Washington, D.C., is impressive. He makes effective use of naval sources: the correspondence between the West Indian stations and the Admiralty, the muster books for vessels stationed in the Caribbean, the papers of Admiral Edward Vernon, and the records of the various administrative boards tasked with victualling, arming, and providing medical care for Caribbean naval personnel.

Naval commanders were acutely aware of the impact of disease, and Crewe devotes considerable attention to their attempts to prevent sickness. Vernon persuaded the Admiralty to build a state-of-the-art facility – New Greenwich Hospital – in Jamaica. Unfortunately, eighteenth-century medical “science” had not the slightest idea that mosquitoes spread yellow jack (and malaria). Thus, despite the best intentions, New Greenwich was a disaster, as the men died like flies from these diseases. Besides providing the best possible medical care, the Admiralty tried to keep men healthy by supplying adequate provisions. Given the large influx of personnel early in the war, the navy abandoned the system of private

contracting at Jamaica (though this system remained in effect in the Leewards), and the government provided provisions. Acquiring sufficient foodstuffs in the British Isles, assembling convoys for the Caribbean, and maintaining fresh supplies in a climate where food perished rapidly posed daunting logistical problems. Although some difficulties were encountered (corruption in Jamaica and occasional shortages in the Leewards), the system worked. Sailors normally received standard rations.

The navy was more effective combating the worm. Substantial dockyard facilities were constructed in Jamaica and Antigua, including careening wharves, storehouses, masts, and forges. This permitted regular careening to prevent the worm from destroying hulls. These dockyards were less proficient in maintaining sufficient naval stores and ordnance to keep the ships active, as both Caribbean stations experienced shortages. Naval stores deteriorated rapidly in the tropical climate. Attempts to secure supplies from North America in addition to Britain achieved only mixed results. Despite these problems, Crewe believes the navy's administration was competent: "In the final analysis, the ships were able to fulfill their operational role with a considerable measure of success, surely the decisive test of a naval administration" (p. 302).

Although Crewe convincingly argues that disease and the worm were the navy's primary challenges, he is less successful integrating his topic into the larger picture of eighteenth-century maritime conflict. This problem results largely from his decision to ignore virtually all secondary accounts. In a book containing nearly 900 footnotes, only 33 refer to other scholars' work, and of those, 29 refer to only two books. His bibliography lists some thirty titles, but they are hardly incorporated into the text. The complex interplay of war and trade depicted in Richard Pares's classic works, for example, is missing. Richard Harding's impressive study of the Cartagena expedition is conspicuous by its absence. A brief account of West Indian operations using the work of Sir Herbert Richmond and J.C.M. Ogelsby is also missing. And like so many naval historians, Crewe's discussion of privateering is limited and misleading at best.

The distorted view resulting from this research design is perhaps best seen in Crewe's discussion of the navy's most serious problem: manning the fleet. The author relies totally on naval sources and presents the opinions of admirals like Vernon and Knowles as if they were facts. Unsurprisingly, private men-of-war are seen as unscrupulous competitors for manpower, who attracted the navy's sailors like magnets. Actually, private men-of-war also experienced great difficulties securing full complements and often sailed short handed. Moreover, since naval commanders com-

peted with privateers for prizes, they were hardly the impartial sources that Crewe depicts. *Yellow Jack and the Worm* certainly offers useful insights on the difficult administrative challenges the navy faced during 1739-48, but its total reliance on naval sources is a serious weakness.

Het Kamp van Broos en Kaliko: De geschiedenis van een Afro-Surinaamse familie. WIM HOOGBERGEN. Amsterdam: Prometheus, 1996. 213 pp. (Paper 34.90)

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An impressive amount of research has been done on Maroon societies in Suriname. Scholars, particularly those in the Netherlands and the United States, seem to be primarily interested in this section of the Suriname population, and Wim Hoogbergen is one of them. His 1985 dissertation on the Boni Wars in eighteenth-century Suriname is a painstaking reconstruction of the formation of the Boni and their struggle against a plantation society.

In his new book he focuses on one particular Maroon camp shortly before the abolition of slavery. This camp was named after its two leaders, Broos and his brother Kaliko. Their descendants now live in the capital, Paramaribo, and some have migrated to the Netherlands. In sixteen short chapters these so-called "Brooskampers" tell their story, supplemented by Hoogbergen's archival research.

It is a fascinating piece of oral history. Hoogbergen argues that two themes dominate: injustice done to the slaves and the wealth of the planters. In the eyes of the oral historians *wisi* (black magic) played a major part in obtaining all of these riches. The *bakra* (whites) were able to steal the slaves' cultural secrets, which they had taken with them from Africa. Missionaries and priests discovered and stole these secrets. Ironically, the Brooskampers were Maroons, thus born in freedom away from the plantations in the jungle. But these stories of the horrors of slavery are part of the collective fantasies belonging to the Afro-Suriname population. Susanna Duplessis, a white French woman who held a black baby in front of its mother under water to keep its mouth shut, symbolized this extreme cruelty. She also cut off the breasts of a beautiful female slave and served

them to her husband, because he had an affair with this young girl.

Hoogbergen began his research in 1976 when he accidentally saw documents on Broos's and Kaliko's camp. From then on he made notes. He also came into contact with descendants from the families who had lived in this Maroon community before and after the abolition of slavery on July 1, 1863. When the former slaves were required to select last names, the "Brooskampers" chose names such as Babel and Landveld. Broos apparently did not find it necessary to choose a new name, but Kaliko became Dirk Babel. The Landvelds, in particular, provided Hoogbergen with the stories in the book. Eventually they settled on an abandoned plantation named Roorak. They converted to Catholicism although their traditional religion remained a major force in their lives.

One of the funny stories in the book has to do with this conversion. Around 1890 the missionaries decided to build a church at Roorak, but the chosen spot was on sacred land and two trees could not be cut. No one in the village wanted to cut them, so Javanese indentured laborers were brought in. The next day when they were about to remove the trees they discovered to their astonishment that the trees were at the other side of the spot. The priest just looked at them and did not comment on what had happened. The church was built without further delay. Christianity spread and slowly the villagers accepted the teachings of the church. Some combined it with their traditional religion, *winti*, while others rejected it. When major bauxite deposits were discovered at Roorak, the American aluminium company Alcoa bought the plantation. In the 1920s the Brooskampers left Roorak. They created some villages along the Suriname River. Paramaribo expanded and these places were incorporated in the city.

Hoogbergen also included stories from the 1960s and 1970s. *Winti* remained important in the lives of the Landvelds. Even though some of them migrated to the Netherlands they had to come back once in a while to fulfill their religious obligations.

The story ends in November 1994 when a big party was held in Paramaribo to celebrate the 50th birthday of one of the Landvelds. The last story is probably the most fascinating because the military strongman of the 1980s and one of the more controversial politicians nowadays, Desi Bouterse, is also related to the Brooskampers. His mother's family goes back to the nineteenth century. One of his grandfathers was Chinese and his father is an Amerindian. Dien Grootfaam-Blokland, one of Hoogbergen's oral historians, joined the political party Bouterse founded in 1987, the National Democratic Party (Nationale Democratische Partij or NDP). She vividly described her role as one of the NDP members who regularly disturbed the public meetings of the parliament. Descendants of

people who rebelled against slavery became opponents of a democratically elected government.

In his book Hoogbergen has again demonstrated how valuable oral history can be as a way to reconstruct the lives of people who hardly ever figured prominently in the colonial records and other official documents. It is to be recommended as a successful story of an Afro-Suriname family.

De erfenis van de slavernij. LILA GOBARDHAN-RAMBOCUS, MAURITS S. HASSANKHAN & JERRY L. EGGER (eds.). Paramaribo: Anton de Kom Universiteit, 1995. 297 pp. (Paper NLG 30.00)

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What happened to Surinamers of African descent after the abolition of slavery in 1863? The editors of this book sought to find an answer to this question. Their goal of making a book about the lives and tribulations of slaves and their descendants that would be attractive to a wide audience is satisfied in this readable and informative book. The problem is that there is no shortage of such books about Suriname, and what we now need is for new ideas and interpretations to be based on thorough empirical research.

The twelve chapters provide a multi-faceted view of the legacy of slavery. They address issues having to do with demography (Humphrey Lamur), the Creole peasantry (Alex van Stipriaan), the socio-economic consequences of emancipation (Pieter C. Emmer; Jerry L. Egger; Siegmien Staphorst; Maurits Hassankhan, Martha Ligeon and Peer Scheepers), the development of the Creole language (Lila Gobardhan-Rambocus), the politics of assimilation (Hans Ramsoed), and politics (Siegfried Werners). Wim Hoogbergen draws upon archival sources and oral histories to tell the story of the Brooskampers, a group of runaway slaves.

The editors encouraged scholars in Suriname to write about their own society. This is certainly a laudable endeavor as the overwhelming majority of works about Suriname have been written either by Dutch historians and anthropologists or by Suriname scholars residing in the Netherlands. One-half of the authors of this collection live in Suriname. These scholars have to conduct their research under less favorable conditions than their Dutch colleagues. The libraries are far from complete, the archives are poorly

preserved, while much relevant archival material is only available in the Netherlands. These circumstances may explain why most of the contributions in this book by Surinamers are review articles about secondary sources. Nevertheless, several of these articles are highly informative. Gobardhan-Rambocus gives an overview of the growing acceptance of Sranan in Suriname. Egger provides an historical understanding of the socio-economic development of Creoles after 1840, basing his findings on research in newspapers and secondary literature, and supporting his argument with quantitative data. Hassankhan, Ligeon, and Scheepers discuss contemporary socio-economic conditions in Suriname, examining the position of Creoles, Hindustani, and Javanese by comparing schooling, income, house ownership, and material possessions. Research about the relation between ethnic background and living standard is important, though few readers will be surprised by their conclusion that the Hindustani are better off than the Javanese and Creoles.

Despite the general nature of most articles and a considerable number of editorial mistakes, the editors are to be commended for their attention to the aftermath of slavery. This collection may provide the impetus to more systematic attention and fundamental research that can enhance our understanding of post-slavery society and may give rise to new interpretations about pre-emancipation times.

The Cocoa Panyols of Trinidad: An Oral Record. SYLVIA MOODIE-KUBLALSINGH. London & New York: British Academic Press, 1994. xiii + 242 pp. (Cloth US\$ 55.00)

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Venezuelan migrants to Trinidad, also known as Cocoa Panyols, played an influential role in Trinidad's history. They pioneered the cocoa industry in the nineteenth century; they introduced *parang*; their music was incorporated into early calypso in the form of paseos and castillians; and they made substantial contributions to Trinidadian folk medicine. Despite their influence, there is very little ethnographic or historical work focusing on the "Spanish," as this group is also sometimes called. Khan's article "What is 'A Spanish'?" is one recent effort, but even she does not use

material collected from "Spanish" individuals, but rather statements about Panyols by other Trinidadians (1993:184).

Moodie-Kublalsingh's book is an important step toward developing a detailed picture of this group. She states that her inspiration for the book was to learn more about her Spanish Trinidadian heritage, and, in many ways, the book is a narrative of her quest. She begins by describing how her father spoke Spanish, and ends with reflections on Trinidadian Spanish. In between, she explores bush medicine, cooking, *parang* music, folklore, jokes, and prayers. The book's portrayal of the Cocoa Panyols is not systematic, however. Instead, it tries to capture the experience of sitting and listening to Spanish matriarchs and patriarchs as they define their Panyol identity, discussing their pasts, their joys, and their struggles. Consequently, the book offers an evocation of what the Panyols are like more than a referential description.

Moodie-Kublalsingh suggests that this group is slowly losing its distinctiveness, and associated with her personal quest to discover her heritage is what seems to be an attempt to salvage the distinctive voices of the Panyols before they disappear. While this leads her to make assumptions about what is authentically Panyol, her presentation of Panyol voices displays what they think is authentically Panyol. This allows readers to examine the issues that her informants use to constitute their ethnic authenticity.

These issues range from music, prayers, and folk medicine to the Spanish language. The book captures Panyols' pride in their identity mixed with melancholy about changes that have led to the dilution of their cultural traditions. These changes include a forced relocation of a major settlement for a dam project that was never completed, the younger generation's abandoning agriculture, and the contemporary neglect of the Spanish language.

In addition to illuminating how the Panyols construct their identity, the book addresses several other topics of interest to students of Trinidadian culture: *parang*, folk medicine, prayers, and Trinidadian Spanish. The book contains a wonderful discussion of *parang* in which Moodie-Kublalsingh shares discussions with her informants about the different categories of *parang* songs, the constitution of authentic *parang* music, and the evaluation of *parangs*. Mixed into this description are extensive samples of *parang* lyrics. The only shortcoming of the discussion of *parang* is the lack of a description of a *parang* band in action. The fourth chapter, "*Galerón*," is of interest because of its integrated discussion of "bush" medicine and "prayers." Moodie-Kublalsingh records several prayers along with commentaries on their appropriate use and powers. She ends

the book with a discussion of Trinidadian Spanish, and how Panyols strategically shift between Spanish, English, and Patois.

While this book contains valuable information, and is a pleasure to read, the author's light hand in organizing and editing the material makes the book very difficult to use as a reference. This is compounded by the lack of an index. Consequently, the full benefit of this book can be gained only with substantial effort, and it is not possible to simply sample parts of it to gain information on a specific topic. One must read the entire book.

Finally, this book raises many important questions about the Cocoa Panyols. I would have liked a more systematic description of the relationship between the Panyols and the other groups in Trinidad, as well as a more detailed history of their origins and history in Trinidad. To be fair, as with any understudied group, one has to begin somewhere, and Moodie-Kublalsingh provides a fine beginning. But based on all of the things which she did not address, and could not be expected to address in a single book, there is much more work to be done. We can only hope that she and others will continue to write about the Cocoa Panyols of Trinidad.

REFERENCE

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The Petroglyphs of the Lesser Antilles, the Virgin Islands and Trinidad. C.N. DUBELAAR. Amsterdam: Foundation for Scientific Research in the Caribbean Region, 1995. vii + 492 pp (Paper NLG 75.00)

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Dubelaar's book, the first comprehensive treatment of rock carvings of the eastern Caribbean, has already become the standard reference consulted by everyone interested in the petroglyphs of these islands and will remain so for many years. With this work, Dubelaar fills in the last geographic gap in his extraordinary compilation of prehistoric petroglyphs in northern

South America and the Antilles (see Dubelaar 1986a, 1986b, and 1991, among others, in the book's bibliography).

Chapter 4, "Inventory of the Petroglyphs," which makes up 88 percent of this book, is a tribute to Dubelaar's scholarly approach and exacting standards in recording rock carvings. He includes for each island a site location map, photographs and line drawings of the petroglyphs, their dimensions and orientations, and prior reports (published and unpublished). With 689 figures, the coverage is exhaustive. One intriguing historical aspect is the variability in the renderings made by different illustrators of the same petroglyph over the course of a century or longer (p. 227). Of equal interest are the new discoveries; Anguilla's two sites were documented only within the past fifteen years.

Dubelaar properly credits local avocational archaeologists, past and present, with much of our knowledge of rock carvings of the eastern Caribbean; professional archaeologists have tended to neglect this subject. Consequently, petroglyph reports sometimes appear in obscure publications or as unpublished manuscripts, the researching of which must have entailed an inordinate amount of effort on Dubelaar's part. The inclusion of two reports by Booy from 1917, which appeared as forwards to the Presbyterian Church Board of Publication and Sabbath School Work in Philadelphia, attests to Dubelaar's thoroughness in tracking down references. Seven biennial trips to the islands between 1981 and 1992 (p. 5) attest to his stamina.

The famous petroglyphs of Guadeloupe rightfully comprise a major part of the volume (about 45 percent of figures and pages in the "Inventory"). This coverage reflects the early curiosity and longstanding interest of the French inhabitants in recording and preserving the island's rock carvings (pp. 9-10), a concern that culminated in the creation of the Parc Archéologique des Roches Gravées to protect the petroglyphs. Such an enlightened attitude is all too often lacking elsewhere in the eastern Caribbean where weathering and, more recently, vandalism are taking their toll.

Petroglyphs are concentrated at twelve sites in southern Basse Terre, the mountainous portion of Guadeloupe; Grand Terre, the low limestone part, has none (p. 169). This distribution seems to reflect a general pattern in the eastern Caribbean, where volcanic islands tend to have more petroglyphs than limestone islands, although this trend is not universal (p. 25). Also, the larger the island the more likely it is to have sites; and site locations seem to correlate with water sources.

Yet, inferring patterns is problematical. For St. Vincent and Guadeloupe, the quantity of sites ($n=12$) is equal but the number of individual petroglyphs ($n=68$ and 419 respectively) is not. Marie-Galante's one site has 47

carvings; Barbuda's single site has 2. St. Vincent mimics Guadeloupe with mostly southern sites; Grenada's occur mainly in the north. Chapter 2, "The Present Research," compiles region-wide data on petroglyph dimensions, orientations, motifs, location parameters, densities, and rock species, but patterns are difficult to discern among these data.

Chapter 3, "Results and Conclusions," is broader in scope and compares carvings from the Lesser Antilles, the Greater Antilles, and northeast South America. Differences overwhelm similarities. One tantalizing geographic anomaly – the fact that four common Greater Antilles figures are found only in Grenada, the most distant Lesser Antilles island – merits a discussion that inexplicably is neglected (p. 38). Similarly deserving of comment is why St. Croix and St. John have petroglyphs whereas all of the rest of the Virgin Islands do not.

Archaeologist A. H. Versteeg wrote two brief sections for this book, one on the occurrence of petroglyphs and another on conclusions. His analysis of the relationship between island area and the existence of petroglyphs (Table I) is insightful.

Minor technical problems include a few typographical errors, the upside-down printing of one illustration (Figure 627), occasional photographs (e.g., Figures 261-63) in which the petroglyph image is difficult to perceive, and a citation on page 427 (Watters 1991) that is omitted in the bibliography.

This volume's excellent visual documentation alone warrants its purchase. It includes superbly reproduced photographs of both unchalked carvings, which are notoriously difficult to print clearly, and chalked ones, for which there is much variation in individual perception (see pp. 134-35). Copious line drawings augment this photographic record.

This reviewer agrees with Dubelaar's arguments (pp. 17-18) for not ascribing "meaning" or "function" to the Antillean rock carvings. Readers who disagree with this position may wish to consult Dubelaar's well-reasoned discussion on the issue of interpreting petroglyphs (1986:48-83).

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Pottery from Spanish Shipwrecks, 1500-1800. MITCHELL W. MARKEN. Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1994. xvi + 264 pp. (Cloth US\$ 39.95)

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This book is the first comprehensive study of ordinary pottery recovered from Spanish shipwrecks. Marken describes the background to Spanish New World colonization and the bureaucracy required to manage the growing trade of European, American, and Asian goods across the Atlantic. He also discusses the wrecks, providing us with important information about the site location, date of the sinking, the underwater salvage methods used, written references to the wrecks and the location of the artifact collections today. Ships associated with the seventeen studied collections all either served in a quasi-official capacity or were in some way involved with New World trade. Their fate depended on conditions at sea; the tight sailing schedules, dangerous weather, endemic piracy, and political climate in Europe often led to shipwrecks.

For archaeologists it is the accurate dating of underwater sites and the uncontaminated nature of the archaeological contexts that make shipwreck material an ideal tool for reliably dating similar artifacts found on land. Using the many intact vessels and the large number of ceramics retrieved from these wrecks, Marken seeks to establish the foundation for accurate typologies particularly for the common wares which bear few distinctive decorative or stylistic attributes. So although he discusses other pottery – namely *tinajas*, coarse earthenware (Merida-type, lead-glazed, feldspar inland, bizcocho), American aboriginal pottery, and majolica (Ligurian blue on blue, Seville blue on blue, blue on white, New World majolicas) – he devotes much of his analysis to the most prevalent pottery traditions: olive jars and Columbia Plain pottery.

The more modern equivalent of earlier Mediterranean amphorae, “olive” jars were used to transport wine, oil, and other commodities. In analyzing these vessels, Marken uses Goggin’s olive jar shape classification (1960) and his own dating tool of five basic rim types. Recording at first hand all but three of the seventeen collections, he studies the finds in chronological order and notes basic clay fabric, vessel and rim shape, rim and shoulder marks, and exterior decoration. With the data he is able to draw rim and exterior vessel profiles of Type A (five sub-types), B (four

sub-types), and C (five sub-types) olive jars. He also considers how the pots were made, their likely contents, how they were covered and stowed for the voyage, and their volume relationships (whether or not olive jars were used as pricing measures for the contents they held).

Marken discusses the effects of mass production on manufacturing: the presence of air bubbles and hasty manipulation of vessels from the potter's wheel. He explains that most jars were thrown from a lump of clay which was pulled upwards towards a conical-closed base; the tell-tale "spiral swirl" on the base is not illustrated, but the feature is obvious to those with a knowledge of potting. Marken believes the vessel bodies were then left to dry, turned upright, and placed in a chuck, and that a coil was added from which the rim was formed; rim types 3, 4, and possibly 5, were made in this way. However a change from the earlier faster one-stage throwing process, the difficulty of interpreting the "incised lines" or "joins" above the shoulder, and the apparent lack of clean coil breaks at this weaker junction may detract from this theory. In terms of olive jar decoration, Marken often mentions the exterior "white slip" appearance. Unfortunately, although he refers to Barton's comments on the subject, he fails to explain why he too believes that this coloring was a natural result of the firing process.

Another important focus of Marken's study are the Columbia Plain pots, which, like olive jars, were the continuation of an older pottery tradition. These vessels were made in the Seville area between the sixteenth and mid-eighteenth centuries. He describes and illustrates the more common plate and carinated drinking bowl forms, the clay fabric, the glazes used, and the method of manufacture. He also notes manufacturing trends, namely the general thickening of vessel walls, the lack of exterior wall smoothing, and the greater standardization of early eighteenth-century finds.

Future work along the lines of Marken's research will provide more complete knowledge of the common pottery found in abundance on many New World sites, whether it be of European, American, or even Caribbean origin. As Marken states, all sherds should be collected (not only those believed to be "diagnostic") using techniques that allow for intra-site wreck analysis. Along with studying manufacturing techniques, researchers might also undertake petrographic investigations. These would enable us to determine where the clays came from and the way they were prepared (with the possible addition of "temper" inclusions) to allow for successful pot making in many parts of the Old and New World. This point aside, Marken's study is a useful work for all those involved in pottery analysis, and particularly for those interested in these clay wares.